A History of The American Legion

Marquis James

FREDERIC W. GALBRAITH, JR.

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By

Marquis James

"The American Legion — the best insurance policy a country ever had"

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To my Mother

FOREWORD

THERE were soldiers in the ancient days. When the infantryman of Imperial Rome went out to war, he carried the weight of his armor of brass and leather, his weapons of steel, entrenching tools and rations for seventeen days. Under this heavy load he marched his thirty miles a day. Few modern armies are amenable to such iron exercise.

The legions of Rome fought numberless campaigns, and in the dust of battles their eagles went forward to victory. They pacified whole peoples and subdued the civilized world.

And yet today the very localities of most of their battles are unknown, and the nations they conquered are free and have forgotten them. The work of their swords is undone. It is the work of their spades that survives.

The work of the humble entrenching tool has outlasted that of the spear and the terrible short Roman sword. When those legions of Rome went into camp, if only for a night, they built a city with walls and streets for their occupancy. If they remained for a season, they developed and enlarged their military town. And where a legion was encamped, there came peace and order and security. Farmers and tradespeople sought the shelter of the Roman law, within those sanctuaries. And before long a veritable city stood where the camp had been.

These ordered camps were the origins of some of the proudest cities of the Europe of today. It is a curious thought, that the works of war have gone down while the less considered labors of the soldiers in time of peace have endured and flourished wonderfully.

Yet if some prophet had stood before the tent of Marius or Mark Antony, or Pompey the Fortunate, and said to him, "It is the spades of your soldiers that will establish your fame and the fame of Rome"—a shout of laughter would have greeted the prophecy. One can imagine the

purple awnings of the general's tent asway in the wind; the glitter of weapons in the sunlight, and the measured tread of the detail assembled to scourge that soothsayer out of the haughty camp. The sword casts a glamour over men's minds; it is the after years that awake to the value of the spade.

As I write these words, the sword is again exerting its evil potency over the minds of men. Boys are assembled in armed battalions, who should be plowing and building for the years to come, in peace. Over against these are other armed battalions, and the distance between is decreasing day by day. From London to Constantinople all Europe is in fear, awaiting other wars. It would seem that the day of the sword may come again, for a sorrow to mankind.

It is very fortunate then, I think, that here in America we have soldiers no less faithful to their country, who are devoted in peace to the works of peace that shall endure. The American Legion, which is the great representative of the organized American veterans of the late war, was born in the minds of the soldiers of this country even before the Armistice that terminated that war. It was created in actuality, directly after the Armistice. It has won for itself a high place in the consciousness of the Nation.

The story of what it has done already is told in the pages that follow. It is a story worth reading; written by an able and honorable man of the highest journalistic standing. It is the first installment of a great serial, a great history of patriotic achievement whose final chapter will be read only by the men of a new generation. As time passes, this history will become more and more clearly the history of the United States of America, for this era.

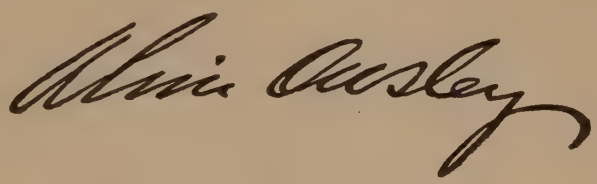
For the American Legion has become a fine and powerful factor in the national life. The men of the Legion are working for the care of their comrades and the good of the Nation. In the name of their comradeship they seek hospitals for their disabled, and rehabilitation; and they

seek an adjustment of financial compensation that will take away the economic penalty now laid on them for the military service of the Republic. They have already secured these things to some extent, and will go on till they shall have secured them in just measure.

For the good of the Nation, the men of the Legion have classed their endeavors under a term that is great and simple, and, to me, very beautiful: Americanism. It is the spirit of America to which we are devoted. That spirit we interpret as the establishment of liberty under law, by free citizens working sincerely and gladly for the public good.

In this spirit the great organization of the Legion is at work all over the country for patriotic education. It is combatting ignorance and unemployment. It is forwarding in all ways the betterment of the community life of America. It is a great force against anarchy and all injustice.

No one man can summarize, nor one year shadow forth, the great co-ordinate endeavors of so many men. The Legion has a great record of accomplishment. It is adding to that record every day.



WRITER'S PREFACE

THIS volume is quite unofficial. The writer accepts all responsibility for everything it contains excepting, of course, matter which is otherwise credited. It is but fair to add that the written and spoken words of others reproduced here have, in nearly every instance, been used without the knowledge of the authors.

The book aims to be a review of the segment of a world-wide after-the-war tendency or movement which allocated itself to the United States, and which has been rather effectively organized and made submissive to regulation under the title of the American Legion. It is the legend of the Legion as one man has seen it. This fact and the considerations related in the foregoing paragraph explain the invasion of the personal note from time to time.

The Legion was born of an intense experience in nationalism. It represents in the United States the spirit of a New Nationalism which is the most noteworthy product of the war. Everywhere its first manifestations have been tumultuous, and frequently they have been destructive, as in Russia, Hungary and Italy—in other countries to milder degree. Russia merely marched swiftest and farthest in the direction in which the whole world was moving shortly after the fighting ceased—impelled by the restless, unorganized and disorganized forces generated within the breasts of newly demobilized millions, unguided and misguided in the first impulses of their new freedom.

To give order, organization, coherence, discipline and clear purpose to this nebulous force is the task which in America fell to the American Legion. By comparison with what has happened in other countries it would seem that the Legion did its work well. How it did it is a story that can now be told from a dependable perspective.

M. J.

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CHAPTER I

MINISTERING TO A RESTLESS ARMY

THE full fury of the "Kaiser storm" still beat upon the Allied lines and kept them rolling backward upon Paris when July of 1918 brought to the Allies a new month of battle, but no new hope. Fresh German armies, gathered from the vanquished Russian front, from Austria, from Roumania, from Italy, had been brought west in the last grand attack, which was to end the war on German terms. The British had escaped disaster almost by a miracle. Terribly hammered, they were hardly holding before Amiens and the last direct line of communication between Paris and London. The French had been swept off the scarred Chemin des Dames and were back along the line of the ominous Marne. Ruined Rheims was practically enveloped by the enemy. Château-Thierry was lost. Shells were falling in Paris. The French government was packing to go elsewhere.

The French and British were grown familiar with defeat. Only the Americans among the Allies had not been beaten. They had not been beaten because they had not come into the fight; because they had not been considered fit to fight. The situation had been so critical that the Allied High Command was not willing to take a chance on the battle qualities of tenderfoot troops.

Strong necessity overbore these scruples. The wide salients the Germans had driven into the Allied line had greatly extended the fighting front. The French and British reserves were practically gone. The Germans were preparing for an effort mightier than any before. Men must be had.

Bring on these Americans then—infantry and machine guns, proven or not; there is nothing else to do. Call on Washington for more—infantry and machine guns ahead of

everything, trained or untrained; that pounding must be met!

In went the First and Second American Divisions. The First had fought like veterans at Cantigny. The Second had saved the day at Belleau Wood and Bourèsches. Could they repeat?

They could. When the news filtered through the A. E. F. that the First and Second, with a Moroccan division between them, had made the surprise attack that recaptured Soissons, we knew it had happened. We were in the war. We were in the war for keeps and we felt a peculiar elation over the fact that we had reached a fighting man's estate. That compendium of all things which go to make an excellent army, and which we call morale, was never in better evidence than when this realization came to the American Expeditionary Forces.

Never in modern times has an army, and in this case it was a green and untried army, faced greater responsibilities than those which fell to the United States forces in France in July, 1918. Never was morale a more precious necessity than at that particular time. It was so precious because it had been so scarce. But now that the Americans knew they were in the war a tide of it came their way. That is the point I wish to make. In a desperate plight American morale rose to meet the odds.

The Soissons drive marked the beginning of the Allied counter-offensive which won the war in less than four months. In this offensive American arms had played a conspicuous part. An American president had written the scriptures of peace. American prestige has never been higher than it was on November 11th, 1918. It was good to be an American anywhere. It was glorious to be an American soldier or sailor in France. It was magnificent just to be one.

Two months more bring us down to February, 1919. It had not been a dream. The victory was real. The Stars

and Stripes flashed in the brilliant winter sunshine over old Ehrenbreitstein to prove it. An American president had made a progress triumphal through Europe such as no crowned monarch or conquering general has ever made. American prestige unfolded the wings of an eagle. And the American soldier in France—the man who really turned the trick that made possible the signal events which had contributed such luster to his country's name—the man who made the clock tick during some of history's greatest moments —what of him? Feeling particularly glorious just now? Hardly. Or magnificent? Well, not so *he* could notice it.

Gone was that matchless morale which had been the hope (and savior?) of the world just six months before. Like a hardy mountain flower which will flourish on the wintry crags of its natural home but will wither and die in the meadows of the lowlands, the *esprit de corps* which sustained America's fighting men when they had their backs against the wall in July had succumbed by February after ten weeks of placid billet life.

Books might be written, and probably will be, on the distressing phases in the life of the A. E. F. that came after the Armistice, but the gist of these volumes may be epitomized in a very few words. The war was over and the A. E. F.'s reason for being was at an end. And like all things which have outlived their usefulness it did not fare well. It began to be a nuisance to itself and a source of unhappy concern to others. A lot of mystery and flubdub has been made over what got into our soldiers in France after the Armistice. Much ado was made of it at the time, and the unfortunate part of it is that a great many homesick soldiers with too much time on their hands (the kind of time Mark Twain said is *not* money) and with nothing much to do but believe what they heard and think of their troubles, took this talk seriously. Some introspective spirits were actually alarmed at themselves. Were they going bolshevist, or what?

Morale was shot to pieces. You heard that every day, and a truer word was never spoken. Not even that minor ingredient of morale called patience remained. Discipline, sense of duty, self-control and other important particles of morale could have been spared—ill-spared, it is true—if only those picturesque and restless crusaders of ours had retained and exercised a modicum of the virtue known as patience.

But they did not, and therein lies the "mystery" of the "great unrest" which enveloped the post-Armistice A. E. F. Those soldiers simply wanted to go home. And can you blame them?

But it was mathematically certain that weeks and months must elapse before most of them would get a westering view of the Statue of Liberty, and meanwhile something had to be done. There were clear-thinking Americans all over France who had a rather accurate idea of what this should be. In the first place, life must be made more bearable for those obliged to remain in France until shipping conditions and other considerations made possible their embarkation for the States. In the second place, measures must be devised to give a normal and profitable outlet for the pent-up accumulation of impatient energy that would develop meantime, to be unloosened in a flood the instant the overseas man should reach home and be demobilized.

If these things were not done almost anything might happen, a great many people thought. However preposterous it may look in black and white at this late day, the writer recalls quite distinctly the apprehensions of certain sibley-stove philosophers of the post-Armistice period who gravely pointed out that every "bolshevik" movement to date had had its inception among disaffected troops or soldiers newly discharged. I recall the reports (vastly exaggerated) we received of the Winnipeg "soviet." These were cited as a case in point to prove that English-speaking soldiers, under certain circumstances, were no different in

this regard from those of other races. Dissatisfaction over the way things were going in the A. E. F. became so widespread that General Headquarters, snugly established in Chaumont, began to tussle with the problem.

At G. H. Q. was a temporary officer named George A. White, a resident of Oregon, an old national guardsman, a former newspaperman and a keen and interested student of human nature. One day early in January White met up with Theodore Roosevelt and mentioned to Roosevelt a few of his observations and conclusions on the declining state of the Army's morale, which already was beginning to manifest itself. Roosevelt himself, it fell out, had been doing some observing along these lines, and his conclusions were much the same as White's. A long conversation followed, in the course of which Roosevelt made a specific suggestion in the way of remedy. He would organize a veterans' association—an association which should originate in the A. E. F. and should include all men of the A. E. F., and should then transplant itself to the States and take in all men of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps who served with the forces that did not get across. He would in this manner set up in the United States the mechanism of a great national organization to be propelled by the restless energy of five million newly discharged fighting men, preserving the unity of aim and action which had been theirs during the war, perpetuating and developing in peace the fruits of the victory which had been won by war. Roosevelt first began to think this out, he said, while recovering from wounds in a hospital.

"There can be no question as to the fatherhood of the idea or as to the initiator of the chain of circumstances which led to the formation of the American Legion," Mr. White has said, commenting on this conversation and the events which followed it. "The honor is Theodore Roosevelt's."

That conversation made White a convert to the Roose-

velt idea. The two parted after an inconclusive discussion of ways and means of starting the ball rolling. Roosevelt went his way and White went his, both talking up the proposition every time they found a sympathetic listener. In this connection I mean to take pains not to give the impression that the Roosevelt-White conversation was the first that any two men ever held on the subject, or was the original conversation which led directly to the events which resulted in the formation of the Legion. Roosevelt first began speculating with the veterans' federation idea among his fellow-patients at Base Hospital No. 2, near Paris, before the Armistice. He had exchanged views with many men before he saw White, and by correspondence with others was developing the idea he expounded so effectively to his friend from Oregon. Some of these men you will meet by name at a dinner in Paris a few paragraphs further on.

Persons at G. H. Q. who could issue general orders at length were impressed with the necessity of taking steps to improve the Army's morale. The testimony of Roosevelt and others supported the contention, and the upshot of the business was that twenty officers, all from civilian life, were directed to report at Paris on February 15th. Although he doesn't admit it, Roosevelt is supposed to have had a good deal to do with the creation of this detail and the determination of its personnel.

Not many of the twenty knew what it was about until they had assembled and heard the explanation that General Pershing desired them to estimate the situation and to make suggestions for the improvement of the welfare of the enlisted personnel of the Expeditionary Forces. The detail fell to its task with zeal, and wound up the day by drafting a series of recommendations designed to make more attractive the dull existence of a million and a half lonesome soldiers with no legitimate occupation and four thousand miles from home. Curtailment of restrictive regulations, a more comprehensive program of athletics, recreation, leave to travel,

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

helpful study and entertainment were advised, and above all G. H. Q. was urged to send men home in the order they had come over and to make that fact known.

When this had been done it was approaching the time of day when a fancy-free American in Paris begins to cast about in his mind for a choice among the interesting evening diversions which that hospitable capital affords. At this juncture Roosevelt came forward with an invitation to dinner at the Allied Officers Club in the Rue Faubourg St. Honoré. He said he had a most important matter to discuss personally and unofficially with the gentlemen of the detail. All accepted the invitation and were present at the appointed hour. Mr. Roosevelt's guests that night were:

Francis R. Appleton, jr., lieutenant colonel, Second Army, New York; G. Edward Buxton, lieutenant colonel, 82d Division, Rhode Island; Bennett C. Clark, lieutenant colonel, 88th Division, Missouri; Ralph D. Cole, lieutenant colonel, 37th Division, Ohio; David J. Davis, lieutenant colonel, G. H. Q., Pennsylvania; Franklin D'Olier, lieutenant colonel, General Staff, Pennsylvania; William J. Donovan, colonel, 42d Division, New York; David M. Goodrich, lieutenant colonel, G. H. Q., New York; T. E. Gowenlock, First Army Corps, Illinois; Thorndike Howe, colonel, A. P. O. Department, Massachusetts; John Price Jackson, lieutenant colonel, Peace Commission, Pennsylvania; W. deLancey Kountze, major, G. H. Q., New York; R. W. Llewellen, lieutenant colonel, 28th Division, Pennsylvania; Ogden L. Mills, captain, S. O. S., New York; Benjamin Moore, lieutenant colonel, 82d Division, New York; R. C. Stebbins, lieutenant colonel, Third Army Corps; R. C. Stewart, major, First Division, Maryland; George A. White, lieutenant colonel, G. H. Q., Oregon; Eric Fisher Wood, lieutenant colonel, 88th Division, Pennsylvania.

With the exception of D'Olier, Goodrich, Wood, White and three or four more, few of those around the table knew

what Roosevelt had on his mind when he extended his offer of hospitality, and Roosevelt waited until cigarettes were lighted before he told them. It was, of course, his dream of a great veterans society.

With a species of enthusiasm that runs in the Roosevelt family, the dinner host placed the project before his guests and asked for roundtable discussion. Most of them caught immediately the enthusiasm of the speaker, and before the meeting broke up at midnight all pledged themselves to any service they could render to put the thing across. Some, however, were sincerely skeptical of any degree of success. One or two seemed simply to miss the point. For example, one officer said the project had his vote if, then and there, its sponsors would commit the enterprise to work for universal military service. The conferees would do nothing of the kind. On the other hand, after a rather one-sided exchange of remarks, they worked out a policy which, many times reiterated, lasted until the Minneapolis convention nine months later.

This policy was that until the duly chosen representatives of veterans of all arms and branches of service, at home and abroad, should meet in open convention and express the will of their constituents, all decisions made in connection with this unnamed veterans society should be considered provisional in nature, and should concern details of organization only and not policies, platforms or planks thereof. If it can be said that any one act saved the young Legion from becoming a victim of infanticide, it was that act.

Realizing the informal nature of their meeting and the fact that the twenty present represented no one but themselves, the conferees saw the unwisdom of presuming to make decisions or promulgate courses of action without taking the rest of the A. E. F. into confidence and partnership. They decided to do only what was absolutely necessary to accomplish this. It was agreed that a large meeting should be held in Paris for this purpose at which the entire A. E. F.

should be represented by delegates selected in equal number from the ranks of officers and enlisted men; that the proposal to form a great, inclusive veterans' organization be submitted to this caucus which should have full power to indorse or kill the whole project. Without presuming to anticipate the decision of this proposed meeting the diners discussed in outline certain future steps. Should the Paris affair develop favorably, it was planned to follow it with a similar representative meeting in the United States.

Thus the veterans at home and abroad would have provided themselves with the nucleus of an organization. The one at home would grow as the other diminished. An eventual union of the governing bodies created by the two meetings would take place, and this would be followed by a national convention of representatives of all veterans of both overseas and home service.

These discussions were of the most tentative nature. Nothing beyond the Paris caucus was positive. After that everything was in the hands of the soldiers and sailors themselves. Nevertheless, around that dinner table, twenty men who fiddled with little French coffee cups and drew pictures on the table-cloth to interpret their remarks, evolved what turned out to be a perfect scenario of the first nine months of the history of the organization which came to be known as the American Legion.

CHAPTER II

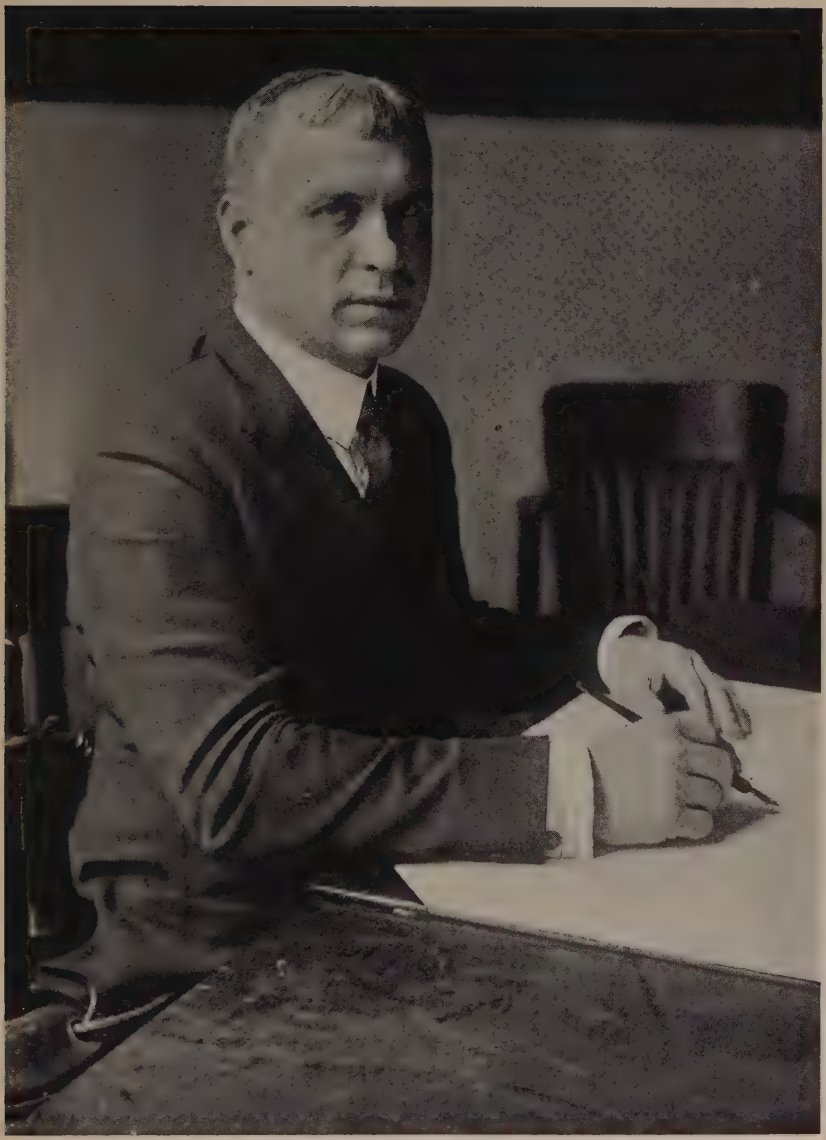
INDIFFERENCE AND SUSPICION

THE working organization which resulted from the Roosevelt dinner consisted of a committee to bring about the Paris caucus. It was composed of George A. White, Eric Fisher Wood and Ralph D. Cole. Roosevelt was designated agent of liaison with the men in the United States. His job was to "remain in observation" of the trend of affairs in France, and when (and also, if) a propitious moment arrived to apply for embarkation orders, to proceed to the United States, get his discharge, surround himself with competent aids and begin to propagate the idea and sow the seeds of organization among the home forces, then in the happy throes of hasty demobilization.

The committee agreed to split up its work in this way. Wood and Cole were to write all combat divisions, army and corps headquarters, all sections of the Services of Supply, and miscellaneous commands. They were to convey news to the European and American press and to do all that could be done by mail and telegraph to spread information and arouse enthusiasm in the Paris meeting.

White was to be an ambassador extraordinary with a roving commission. He was to tour the A. E. F. on government gasoline, visiting combat divisions, interpreting, expounding, explaining what all these letters and telegrams from Wood and Cole were about. He was to adjust differences, remove misapprehensions, compose misunderstandings. He was to tell the story in words of one syllable and to see to it that every outfit turned out its quota for Paris.

To plan all this was rather simple. To execute the plan was quite another matter, and not so simple. These men were all in the Army. Their time was not their own. Travel was a matter controlled by orders relating to official business, to considerations "necessary in the military service."



GEORGE A. WHITE

Cole went back to his division, where he found work to do which precluded his carrying out the part of the task that had been assigned to him. Wood fell to it with such volunteer assistance as he could command. With untiring energy and a painstaking faculty for detail he tackled the paper work necessary to establish the approaches for a successful caucus. His unheralded labors contributed much to the success that followed.

White's mission was more interesting. It had the spice of risk. He decided there were so many colonels hanging around Chaumont at the time that one would not be missed. He decided to be that one himself. With a carefully selected assortment of travel orders—rather dim and blurry about the date lines—and a wary eye for assistant provost marshals, he set out. Of course, in the view of the average soldier, that red, white and blue G. H. Q. sign on his Dodge rendered these precautions superfluous. But White went doubly prepared. In fact, the G. H. Q. sign did come in handy a time or two, but no one asked to see the antiquated orders.

Ambassador White had not progressed far on his visiting list when it became apparent that certain definite objections, or rather suspicions, regarding the project whose interests he was endeavoring to further, were crystallizing in the minds of those who had heard about the Paris dinner or had read the literature sent out by Wood and his assistants.

In the first place, what sort of slick Army scheme, inspired by the General Staff, was this thing, anyway? Why the inordinate interest of G. H. Q.? Why should G. H. Q. send a colonel travelling in a staff automobile all over France, Luxembourg and occupied Germany to drum up interest in an ex-service men's organization before anybody had a chance to rank that coveted prefix, "ex-"? Wasn't all this a deep-laid plot to work up propaganda for compulsory military service or other militaristic ideas which every soldier believed lay close to the hearts of the elderly generals of the

old Regular establishment? Why the rush to form a veterans union before we got out of uniform? Wouldn't that come along inevitably, at the proper place, which would be at home, and at the proper time, which would be after demobilization? No, this thing wasn't right. G. H. Q. had something up its sleeve.

Brigadier-General Charles H. Cole, of the 26th Division, told White point blank that he regarded the whole thing as Regular Army propaganda, and he would have nothing at all to do with it. Another New Englander informed White that the Yankee Division would form an association of its own and fight "that Army bunch." The Y. D. was still smarting over the removal of its commander, Major-General Clarence Edwards.

In the second place, it was all a political move, an early-bird attempt to swing the soldier vote in the 1920 presidential election to the candidate the General Staff clique might select. Some said this was Pershing. Some, curiously enough, said it was Leonard Wood. Quite a few said it was political medicine making of which Roosevelt was to be the beneficiary. That suspicion was quite general. Naturally it reached Roosevelt's ears, and had a profound influence on his career with the organization he had conceived. As soon as he was satisfied the thing could stand alone, and was headed in the direction he believed it should be headed, he withdrew from active participation, literally fighting his way to the door.

In the third place, it was a society for the glorification of the Sam Browne belt—a society by, for, and of the officers. This report was more widespread than any of the others, because it had a wider field in which to spread. Generally speaking, the prestige of officers was hardly at its highest pinnacle in February after the Armistice. An officer was the impersonation of rank and authority, and rank and authority were two things the enlisted nineteen-twentieths of the Army were somewhat indifferent toward

at that especial moment. The fact that a rather sparkling galaxy of rank had brightened the Roosevelt festal board where the whole thing started did not make this story any easier to combat. The entire business was a trick of the officers—and the silk-stocking, boots-and-spurs boys at that —to perpetuate in civilian life the vicious hold Army regulations had given those in authority over others who happened to rate lower in the military scale. This story had more lives than a cat. It died a hard death, and its ghost was finally laid, but not until long after its compatriots—the "politics" and "General Staff" yarns—had been buried and forgotten.

This "officers" tale, in fact, was the only one of the three major suspicions that White, Wood and their colleagues were not able to counteract very favorably before the Paris caucus. The others were still alive at that time but they did no great harm. General Cole had come to see the light. The Yankee Division had the largest delegation at the Paris gathering. As for the Roosevelt political suspicion, Wood and White met that by asking Bennett C. Clark, a son of the late Champ Clark, former Speaker of the House and political opponent of Colonel Roosevelt the elder, to preside.

The organizers of the Paris caucus brought their month's effort to a close with a drive to insure a delegated representation from as many units as possible, and especially to obtain a full quota of enlisted men on equal terms with officers. As the "officers only" story got under way, efforts had been redoubled in this direction. Special appeals were sent to all who had attended the first Paris meeting and to many others, stressing the point that enlisted representation was of first importance. Things were looking pretty fair in this connection when an unexpected blow fell from G. H. Q. Officers and men were denied privilege of attending under orders. Entreaties were of no avail. G. H. Q. was firm. Three-day Class C leaves with travel and subsistence at his own expense were all that a delegate could get. This placed

an insurmountable obstacle in the path of obtaining a full quota of enlisted delegates.

The workers multiplied their efforts, meeting firmness with cunning. Informal instructions were issued to certain officer delegates to bring orderlies for other purposes than to assure a high state of polish on Sam Browne belts. Technically correct but curious orders found their way into the hands of divers non-coms, directing that they proceed to Paris at government expense to obtain dubbin, inspect smokeless field kitchens, etc. By such manner of means probably one hundred enlisted men reached Paris to attend the caucus. About one half of this number took an active part in proceedings. There were about five hundred officers present, three hundred of whom attended to business while the others took in the pleasant sights and sounds of the city.

Most of the delegates were only mildly enthusiastic when they started. Many never got beyond that stage. I have heard delegates confess later that had the meeting been held anywhere but Paris, their names would now be missing from the historic roster of the founders of the Legion. A good many enlisted men took one quick look at the inside of the American Club and left; too many officers mingled with other interior decorations. Others simply could not take it seriously. This nebulous and unchristened veterans society was not the first one in the field. There were others who boasted all the appurtenances of going concerns—names, officers with imposing titles, platforms, and treasuries blooming with francs.

When Private Harold W. Ross, 18th Engineers, went to fish out of his desk in the *Stars and Stripes* office his almost-forgotten letter of appointment as a delegate, he came on a handful of literature put out by the promoters of other veterans societies, which he had stowed away in the same drawer. Ross strolled over to the caucus not entirely convinced it would amount to much. The field was too crowded. In his desk were the prospectuses of a dozen veterans or-

ganizations, presumably with as much or more chance of success than this idealistic scheme that started at a dinner party.

But Private Ross,* like General Cole,† was soon to undergo a conversion.

The apathy of a portion of the delegates proved one salutary thing. It established that they were thoroughly representative of their constituencies, and not hand-picked. For the A. E. F. as a whole was apathetic, indifferent and uninformed; chiefly uninformed. The three suspicions enumerated in the foregoing affected only a small portion of the A. E. F. population. The rest remained simply unimpressed. Probably not one man in twenty-five in the A. E. F. ever knew the first thing about this Paris meeting if they knew of it at all. The great mass had been untouched. To reach them was impossible under the conditions.

But what the personnel of the caucus lacked in interest and information before the sessions opened, was made up by the enthusiasm of a comparatively small but ever-enlarging group, and their unselfish devotion to what they conceived to be their highest duty to their comrades and their country. Others were not slow to recognize this enthusiasm as the genuine article. The spirit spread and the caucus succeeded.

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* Appointed editor, *American Legion Weekly*, 1920.
† Elected Commander, Massachusetts Department, 1921.

CHAPTER III

AN EXPERIMENT: THE PARIS CAUCUS

THE booming voice of Eric Fisher Wood gained an easy ascendency over the hum of conversation and the scraping of chairs and hob-nailed shoes on the once-polished floors as the delegates settled themselves in the drawing-room of the old French residence at Nc. 4 Avenue Gabriel, which had been transformed into the American Club of Paris. Wood reviewed in a few words the activities of the month preceding. He recounted the steps that had led to the calling of the caucus and explained what the temporary committee conceived to be the objects of the meeting. He touched upon what he believed the future held for such a veterans organization and turned the meeting over to itself.

Bennett C. Clark was nominated and elected temporary chairman, and Wood temporary secretary. The parliamentary rules of Congress were adopted and the caucus went into action. The first debate was as to whether votes should be by individuals or by delegations. An individual vote was taken on the question and ballot by delegations won, 279 to 72. The following organizations,* having delegates present, were therefore given one vote each: First, Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth, 26th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 32d, 33d, 35th, 36th, 41st, 42d, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82d, 83d, 88th, 89th, and 91st Divisions; First, Second and Third Armies; G. H. Q.; Headquarters, S. O. S.; Advance Section, S. O. S.; Intermediate Section, S. O. S.; Base Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, S. O. S.; Paris Command, and Troops serving with the French. The sessions were held on the 15th, 16th and 17th of March.

From the billets along the Rhine, from the base ports, from the combat divisions and stevedore regiments, from

*As officially reported to the *Stars and Stripes*.

Belgium, Luxembourg and the British Isles, from every arm and branch of the land forces they came. The statement has frequently been made that the Navy also was represented at Paris, and, in fact, the report of the Committee on Constitution of that caucus refers to "We, the members of the Military and Naval service." The Second Division, which contained two Marine regiments, was represented, but there was present no delegate direct from the Navy. On the afternoon of the third day a lone sailor wandered into the Cirque de Paris where the later sessions were held. He was immediately surrounded and asked whom he represented.

"Nobody," stammered the embarrassed gob; "I thought there was a show going on in here."

To return to the first meeting. When the manner of voting had been determined a lieutenant colonel, Lemuel Bolles by name, claimed the floor and moved that all considerations of rank be waived among delegates during the business of the caucus. The motion was adopted unanimously, and Army Regulations, in so far as they concerned the business of the caucus, were amended in that particular then and there. Will some guard-house lawyer inform us if, technically, the entire caucus at that moment did not lay itself liable to trial by court-martial? Be that as it may, in the sessions and committee meetings which followed a private could tell a brigadier where he got off and get away with it. This may not seem particularly noteworthy just now, but reconstruct in your mind or try to imagine the density of the military atmosphere which hung uncomfortably over France in March of 1919 and you will discover it quite an unusual step. It was, of course, a logical step. This extraordinary experimental caucus was setting out to deal with issues which would come to a head after the armies had disbanded and rank and titles had ceased to be.

On the motion of Ogden Mills, of New York, the caucus organized for business by the appointment of four

committees. These committees were to report to the caucus recommendations on permanent organization, constitution, name, and place of next meeting. The main body of the caucus, which had nothing to do until the committees reported, adjourned.

The next day the caucus moved to the Cirque de Paris. The old Paris playhouse, with divisional delegation standards raised on poles planted among the seats, afforded a genuine setting for that great American institution, the convention. The second session opened with an endorsement of the work of the temporary committee which had called the Paris caucus. This perfunctory motion had been put twice the day before, but sidetracked by an avalanche of oratory—and not without a purpose. The caucus was not quite ready to commit itself to the endorsement of much of anything. It wasn't exactly sure about that self-appointed committee in particular. But the business-like beginning of the caucus and a night of talking it over had settled a good many questions and allayed a good many suspicions.

Lemuel Bolles of Seattle, delegate from the First Army, presented the report of the Committee on Constitution,* which under the chairmanship of G. Edward Buxton of Providence, R. I., had worked almost all night in an effort to define the basic tenets of an organization that should be a practical expression of the ideals and aspirations a veteran of the World War should hold for his country. The opening paragraph of the committee's report is significant:

"We, the members of the Military and Naval Service of the United States of America in the great war, desiring to perpetuate the principles of Justice, Freedom and Democracy for which we have fought; to inculcate the duty and

* Complete membership of the Committee on Constitution: Lieut.-Col. G. Edward Buxton, jr., 82d Division; Col. Carl E. Ristine, 35th Division; Major Redmond C. Stewart, 1st Division; Pvt. John Tracy Winterich, Paris Command; Lieut.-Col. William H. Curtiss, 91st Division; Pvt. Harold W. Ross, 18th Engineers; Lieut.-Col. Thomas W. Miller, 79th Division; Major John H. Hall, 28th Division; Pvt. J. Blackwell, Paris Command; Col. Milton J. Foreman, 33d Division; Lieut.-Col. John Price Jackson, Peace Commission; Col. Edward L. Logan, 26th Division; Lieut.-Col. Lemuel Bolles, 1st Army.

THE CAUCUS AT PARIS, 1919

obligation of the citizens to the State; to preserve the history and incidents of our participation in the war; and to cement the ties of comradeship formed in service, do propose to found and establish an association for the furtherance of the foregoing purposes."

This declaration is the forerunner and the lineal antecedent of the preamble of the constitution of the American Legion—which expression of constructive patriotism is not surpassed by anything of a similar character in our language.

The committee's report proceeded to define membership as open to "all officers and enlisted personnel in the Military and Naval Services of the United States of America at any time during the period from April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918, inclusive; excepting, however, persons leaving the service without honorable discharge or persons who having been called into service refused, failed or attempted to evade full performance of such service." The report laid out a comprehensive scheme of organization. "The society," it declared, "shall consist of a national organization with subsidiary branches; one for each State, Territory and foreign possession of the United States as well as one in each foreign country where members of the national society may be resident and who desire to associate themselves together. . . . The subsidiary branches shall organize and govern themselves in such manner as the membership of such subsidiary organizations shall determine upon, except that requirements and purposes of the permanent national constitution as adopted shall be complied with. Representation shall be on the basis of the actual enrollment in the subsidiary branches. . . ."

The officers of the society were to be "a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, and a board of directors which shall consist of the president, vice-presidents and chief executive of each subsidiary branch." Thus was envisioned the office of National Commander and his

associates and the National Executive Committee. The scrupulous avoidance of any military title gives an insight into the state of mind of the A. E. F.

The report was adopted after a vigorous seconding speech by Bishop Charles H. Brent, Senior Chaplain of the A. E. F.

"I believe the conscience of the Army is speaking in this committee's report," he declared. "I believe the Army's soul is speaking in it. At the beginning of the caucus, I tell you frankly I was fearful lest you should create a great mechanism without adequate purposes. My fears have been wholly allayed and I see in this report the ideals not only of the Army but of the Nation adequately expressed; and I wish to tell you gentlemen that so far as I have ability to promote this great movement I give you my most hearty support. I believe that the Army of today, when it goes back to citizen-thinking and citizen-acting, will be capable of contributing to the Commonwealth of the United States so as to change the character of the whole country and to lift it up to a higher plane of political, industrial and religious life."

Bishop Brent's pledge of support was of great importance. The Bishop was an early pioneer in the veterans organization field. He had the jump on the men who conceived the Legion. His "Comrades in Service" had been launched on broad and effective lines and was spreading rapidly over the A. E. F. when the Paris caucus was called. It was the largest and most substantial of all the pre-Legion soldier organizations. It was, however, a movement rather than an organization. Therein lay its strength. The men affiliated with "Comrades in Service" did not join a society. They subscribed to an admirable series of principles, leaving the problems of physical organization to solve themselves when the time came. This time was approaching, and already "Comrades in Service" had developed the framework of a definite temporary organization preparatory to the

formation of a permanent body when the troops should reach the United States and be demobilized.

Bishop Brent went to Paris to sit in judgment on this new veterans' project which had forged into the lead among a variety of starters. The Bishop had announced his willingness to withdraw from the field and consolidate his efforts with those of the sponsors of the Legion if he could be convinced that the ideals he held for "Comrades in Service" could be better served by the new organization. Consequently, in a moral and practical sense, it was a great moment for the new Legion when Bishop Brent declared "Comrades in Service" was "prepared to contribute to this army-wide organization which is now brought into existence, all that we have to contribute." "Comrades in Service" passed out of existence with the A. E. F. On leaving France its members were urged to support the Legion when they reached the United States. Bishop Brent's magnanimous action left the Legion free to get its start in the A. E. F. without a real rival in the field.

What to christen the organization proved a problem. The Committee on Name* reported in favor of "Legion of the Great War." "Veterans of the Great War" was the committee's second choice.

The committee had considered some twenty titles, among them "The American Legion," which got no votes as a first choice, only one vote as second choice and three as third choice. "Liberty League," "Comrades of the Great War," "Army of the Great War," "Society of the Great War" and others were received with more favor by the committee. The controversy was carried to the floor, where a greater diversity of opinion developed. Nearly everyone sought the honor of naming the baby and nearly

* Complete membership of Committee on Name: Col. E. A. Gibbs, S. O. S.; Sgt. W. S. Nolan, 89th Division; Major Arthur S. Dwight, S. O. S.; Sgt. H. E. Fleming, 35th Division; Lieut.-Col. C. C. Goodrich, G. H. Q.; Col. R. C. Stebbins, Third Army Corps; Major E. S. Haile, 77th Division; Sgt. McElow, Paris Command; Major D. D. Drain, Third Army; Sgt. T. M. Barnard, Paris Command; Major Horace Rumsey, 35th Division; Sgt. C. E. Sommers, Peace Commission; Lieut.-Col. E. A. Robbins, jr., Sixth Army Corps; Sgt. G. F. Fleming, Paris Command; Lieut.-Col. Stephen C. Markoe, 1st Division.

everyone had a different name for it. The honor went to Maurice K. Gordon of Texas, who moved the adoption of "The American Legion."

Joseph Mills Hanson wanted to amend it to read "American Legion of the Great War," pointing out that the initials A. L. and G. W. were those of Abraham Lincoln and George Washington. A medical corps sergeant objected to the word Legion. He said it "smacked slightly of the silk stocking." A First Division colonel defended the name, citing the French Foreign Legion with which he said any American should have been proud to have fought. A third delegate said he was not greatly impressed by the silk stocking complaint, adding that he could stand to be wearing a pair at the moment. So the debate wore on until considerably past the lunch hour. Gordon renewed his motion in favor of "The American Legion," and the delegates who had not deserted the hall, having talked themselves out, carried the motion—on empty stomachs and without enthusiasm. In fact before the vote was taken it was explained that the action was tentative and could be revoked.

The Committee on Convention,* appointed to devise means and machinery for a meeting in the United States at which the Army and Navy of both the overseas and home forces should unite, failed to agree. A new committee,† headed by Milton J. Foreman of Chicago, was given the task. The caucus adopted its recommendation,

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* Complete membership of Committee on Convention: Brig.-Gen. J. H. Sherburne, 26th Division; Capt. Ogden L. Mills, G. H. Q.; Pvt. C. W. Ney, First Army; Col. J. H. Graham, S. O. S.; Capt. R. V. Mahon, 77th Division; Sgt. J. C. Hender, Paris Command; Capt. Arthur W. Kipling, Troops with French; Sgt. F. R. Obrecht, Paris Command; Wagoner Dale J. Shaw, 88th Division; Lieut.-Col. Frank Appleton, Second Division; Col. John H. Anderson, 42d Division; Major Victor W. Hungerford, Third Army; Lieut.-Col. George Wren, 36th Division; Army Field Clerk Dan Sowers, G. H. Q.; Lieut.-Col. Paul B. Clemens, 32d Division; Major Samuel R. Todd, 81st Division.

† Complete membership of new Committee on Convention: Col. Milton J. Foreman, 33d Division; Col. William J. Donovan, 42d Division; Army Field Clerk Dan Sowers, G. H. Q.; Col. F. G. Bunch, 32d Division; Capt. Ogden L. Mills, G. H. Q.; Lieut.-Col. F. W. Smith, 89th Division; Major Barry Wright, 79th Division; Wagoner Dale Shaw, 88th Division; Major E. C. Sammons, 35th Division; Sgt. E. B. Rommel, Paris Command; Lieut.-Col. F. T. Pusey, 28th Division; Major Maurice K. Gordon, 36th Division; Lieut.-Col. William A. Graham, 88th Division; Sgt. W. S. Nolan, 89th Division; Lieut-Col. P. B. Clemens, 32d Division. Ex-officio members: Lieut.-Col. Bennett Clark and Major Eric Fisher Wood.

MILTON J. FOREMAN

which was that the general congress of veterans should meet in the United States at 11 a.m. on November 11th, 1919. The place was left to the discretion of the A. E. F. Executive Committee, which was to act in conjunction with the American Executive Committee.

The A. E. F. Executive Committee was created by action of the caucus on the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.* The American Executive Committee was yet to be formed at the caucus to be held in the United States which Theodore Roosevelt had already gone home to organize. The Paris caucus clothed the Executive Committee of its creation with power to carry on the required work of organization in France, establishing a temporary overseas organization which would diminish and ultimately dissolve as the troopships shoved off from Brest, and would gradually reconstitute itself as an integral part of the permanent organization which was to be built up in the United States. The precedent established when the guests at the Roosevelt dinner rose in their wrath at the suggestion that they commit their project to an endorsement of universal military service or any other controversial question was reaffirmed. The Executive Committee was instructed by the caucus to formulate or carry out "no policy except in furtherance of the creation of a permanent organization having in mind the desirability of unity of action in organizing all the American forces."

Such was the record of that unique undertaking, the Paris caucus—the Continental Congress of the American Legion. It took an abstract idea—a vision—gave it life, made it a proposition folks could see, hear and understand, and equipped it for a career of its own contriving. The Paris

* Complete membership of the Committee on Permanent Organization: Col. William J. Donovan, 42d Division; Lieut.-Col. Horace G. Smith, 78th Division; Sgt. Tyler H. Bliss, Paris Command; Capt. A. Hunter Boyd, 29th Division; Lieut.-Col. A. E. Fitzpatrick, 35th Division; Lieut.-Col. W. W. Crosby, S. O. S.; Major J. F. Graff, 28th Division; Major Barry Wright, 79th Division; Lieut.-Col. William A. Graham, 88th Division; Pvt. W. F. Thompson, S. O. S.; Capt. Oscar E. Carlstrom, S. O. S.; Sgt. E. B. Rommel, Paris Command; Major R. C. Patterson, Paris Command; Sgt. V. V. Trout, Paris Command.

caucus represented the reverse of the old process whereby a forehanded citizenry, reading the signs of the times, in peace prepares for war. Here a forehanded soldiery read the signs of the times and instead of falling for a lot of panicky poppycock about the bolshevism that would be rife in America when five million soldiers and sailors got out of uniform, they announced that this was their affair and methodically set to work to find a solution of the problems those very readable signs presented to the view. Thus a forehanded soldiery began in time of war to prepare for peace with an eye to safeguarding their own welfare and that of the country they had lately been serving on fields of fire.

The results of the caucus were not achieved as glibly as they have been set down here. Turmoil, tumult and confusion spiced most of the sessions on the floor; committee conferences frequently resembled a babel of colliding theories and ideas. The whole business was individualistic to the *n*th degree. There were no "blocs" and little leadership. Between three and four hundred individuals whose speculative faculties, suddenly released from the severe limitations imposed by military service, had been hard at work since the Armistice, here found an outlet and an audience—and hence were irrepressible. It is true that the decisions of the caucus followed the general lines of the plan of development discussed at the Roosevelt dinner, but that incorrigible caucus was anything but a rubber stamp. After everyone had talked himself out the body simply submitted to the logic of the situation, and it happened that practically this same logic had been discovered beforehand by the Roosevelt group. Any other group canvassing the situation as thoroughly as they had canvassed it would have arrived at the same conclusions. It was like a problem in mathematics. There was only one correct answer.

The caucus finished its sessions and dispersed. The delegates stepped back into character as officers and men of the armed forces of the United States and resumed with

declining ardor the duties incumbent upon their stations. The Executive Committee* of their thoughtful creation carried on.

This committee assembled on the stage of the convention hall immediately upon the adjournment of the main body. It was designated as a temporary body and was made up, in so far as possible, of two members from each unit represented at the caucus—an officer and an enlisted man in each case—and eight members at large. Units not participating in the caucus were privileged to representation on the same basis, and when the Legion began to make more of a stir in the A. E. F. all but a few availed themselves of the privilege. Milton J. Foreman of Chicago was elected chairman, George A. White of Portland, Oregon, secretary and Richard C. Patterson of New York City, assistant secretary. On taking the chair, Mr. Foreman drew a picture of the Legion of the future as he saw it then.

"It is our duty as soldiers and sailors," said he, "to unite into one organization all persons who have been subject to military or naval authority, for the following purposes:

"To perpetuate the aims for which we entered this war.

*Members of Executive Committee who attended meeting of March 17th: Senior Chaplain Charles H. Brent, G. H. Q.; Lieut.-Col. Burke H. Sinclair, Third Army; Lieut.-Col. Francis R. Appleton, jr., Second Army; Lieut.- Col. Lemuel Bolles and Sgt.-Maj. Race, First Army; Capt. Arthur S. Hyde, First Division; Lieut.-Col. Harold C. Snyder, Second Division; Sgt. Wheaton Freeman and Lieut.-Col. William J. Keville, Twenty-sixth Division; Lieut.-Col. Edward E. Gauche and Reg. Sgt.-Maj. Samuel A. Ritchie, 27th Division; Brig.-Gen. William G. Price, jr., and Sgt. Ted Myers, 28th Division; Lieut.-Col. Orison M. Hurd and Color Sgt. Andreas Z. Holley, 29th Division; Capt. Leon Schwarz, 31st Division; Col. Milton J. Foreman, 33d Division; Lieut.-Col. Bennett Clark and Sgt. Fred Heney, 35th Division; Col. Charles W. Nimon and Sgt.-Maj. L. H. Evridge, 36th Division; Col. Frank White, 41st Division; Col. Henry J. Reilly and Sgt. Rowe, 42d Division; Major Duncan Harris and Sgt. Lawrence Miller, 77th Division; Lieut.-Col. Stuart S. Janney and Sgt. Benjamin R. Kauffman, 79th Division; Capt. Arthur F. Shaw, 80th Division; Major Theodore G. Tilghman and Reg. Sgt.-Major William S. Beam, 81st Division; Capt. Frank S. Williams and Sgt. Alvin T. York, 82d Division; Lieut.-Col. Wayman C. Lawrence, jr., and Cpl. Thoyer, 83d Division; Major John H. Smale, 86th Division; Lieut.-Col. George C. Parsons and Wagoner Dale J. Shaw, 88th Division; Lieut.-Col. Frank Wilbur Smith, 89th Division; Lieut.-Col. John Guy Strohm and Sgt.-Maj. Hercovitz, 91st Division; Pvt. Harold W. Ross and Lieut.-Col. John Price Jackson, Paris Command; Sgt. L. K. Flynt and Capt. A. W. Kipling, Troops with French; Col. James H. Graham, S. O. S. Hq.; Capt. David A. Maurier, Adv. Sec., S. O. S.; Pvt. W. L. Thompson, Base Sec. No. 1, S. O. S.; Lieut.-Col. Carle Abrams, Base Sec. No. 3, S. O. S.; Major Orlin Hudson, Base Sec. No. 5, S. O. S.; Major Arthur S. Dwight, Base Sec. No. 6, S. O. S. Delegates-at-Large: Lieut. Col. George A. White, Major Eric Fisher Wood, Major Richard C. Patterson, Lieut. L. R. Fairall.

"To form a concrete method for securing and enforcing proper care of the wounded, disabled and needy.

"By organization to impress on those who govern the country the broader point of view of those who served, and in general to be a great communal force for good."

Next day the committee members scattered to their commands and left Mr. Foreman and his official associates at the helm. Discussing his situation, Mr. Foreman has since said to the writer:

"There I was, the temporary head of an interim committee of a projected organization. Can you conceive of anything more diaphanous than that?"

The views of Secretary White:

"If you want a clear mental picture of our situation just imagine yourself with the American Legion on your hands, its course not charted, its organization not begun, not a centime in the treasury and no method of raising a franc."

Mr. Foreman and his colleagues were expected to bring about some sort of definite, albeit temporary, organization of the American Legion in the A. E. F. At any rate this seems to have been what was in the mind of the caucus and of the committee when its members dispersed to their outfits leaving matters in the hands of the epigrammatic gentleman from Chicago. Foreman, White and Patterson had a long talk. Of this and subsequent conversations Mr. White observes:

"Mr. Foreman had a truly remarkable vision of the future course of the American Legion. Predictions he made at his P. C. in Luxembourg have all come true since then. He saw into the future of the organization as clearly as many men now observe into its past."

The foregoing, I submit, is a rather noteworthy citation. Two and one half years later we will observe the Legion, at its third National Convention at Kansas City, conferring the title of First Past National Commander on the erstwhile sage of Luxembourg.

The first thing Foreman perceived was that any attempt at an elaborate or highly evolved organization in the A. E. F. would be time wasted and endeavor thrown away. Actual harm to the Legion's future might even have resulted. The troops had just one thought—home—and no patience to endure any other. The old A. E. F. is a memory now, and what would one not give to be able to relive a day of it? But as a stark reality this same A. E. F. was something we were fed-up on entirely and eager to cast from our lives. With irreverent haste we left it—dismantled, demolished, despoiled and abandoned—and gaily began our westward journey, soldiers home from the wars!

It was no time and no place to begin to build permanently the structure of the American Legion.

Chairman Foreman attempted nothing but a loose and fragmentary organization in Europe, an organization directed primarily toward propaganda. This was done just right. The soldier or sailor on foreign service was told that here was something he needn't bother a whole lot about just now—let's get home first—but meantime just mark and remember the name, American Legion, and these few things about it, and when you get back home in civies see if it isn't about the gang you want to flock along with. There was no attempt to impress men into the organization; to exploit the sweeping proclamation of the Executive Committee, which at its first brief meeting enthusiastically declared for the incorporation of the entire A. E. F. into the Legion. That would have been fatal. The A. E. F. wanted to be incorporated into civilian clothes—nothing else. But thousands who would have warmly resented any step to apply this well-meant but tactless proposal tucked away in their preoccupied minds an idea or so about this Legion—and in the fullness of time went home and joined.

Fortunately, Foreman knew a great deal of soldier psychology. He knew that five million men who for two years had been doing things because someone told them

they had to, were about to quit taking orders and quit with a flourish. And about the first thing they were going to decide for themselves would be the particular veterans society they should join. If they joined the Legion it would be because they wanted to, because they saw something in the Legion beside the fact that it had been highly recommended to them by an artillery colonel.

Mr. White assumed the duties of a publicity department and through the *Stars and Stripes* and the great number of divisional and regimental publications which had been started all over the A. E. F. spread the story of the Legion among the homegoing troops. The Army printing plant at G. H. Q. had little to do, so White entered into negotiations looking toward the publication of a booklet for free distribution. He thought the prospect so likely that he and Chairman Foreman sat up nearly all night in the latter's billet putting their thoughts on paper. White took the copy to Chaumont, and there discovered that his drag with the brigadier in charge of printing not what he had supposed it to be. The general couldn't "see" the Legion. White, who once wrote fiction under another name, kept up his efforts until he received the most unique rejection slip of his career. It was an official memorandum to the effect that "it is not deemed advisable" to "publish this unofficial matter."

Patterson finally had a small edition run off at a French print shop in Paris. It sets forth the early plans of the organization in these words, which deserve a larger circulation:

> The American Legion. This is the name of a tentative organization of those who served in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps during the great war.
>
> The American Legion is distinct and separate in every respect. It is not associated with, related to or interested in, any other movement, association, organization or society. It represents the spontaneous desire of the whole service to unite for the purposes just quoted. It is going to be just what you and the others who were in service make it.
>
> The necessity of launching the movement early, for the benefit of those in service, is apparent, particularly to those who know of the

abortive and frequently selfish efforts to form veterans' organizations at the close of preceding wars.

By establishing a rallying point now, those who served will know where to turn when the natural desire to join such an organization occurs after return to civil life.

Later, in the United States, the organization of state, county and city units will be initiated by all those eligible to belong along lines to be determined in the United States. These, then, will be eligible to representation at a great charter convention in the United States, where the united ideas of all will be incorporated in the National Constitution.

The second and last meeting of the A. E. F. Executive Committee was held in Paris on April 7th. White's publicity had brought the Legion to the attention of the whole Army, and for days before the meeting major-generals who had ignored the Legion from the first began writing in to make sure of representation for their units. An even more salutary circumstance was the rising enthusiasm of the enlisted men. The Executive Committee had undergone a transformation since its creation at the March caucus. The personnel was equally divided between officers and men and all distinctions of rank were waived. The committeemen, too, exhibited a new interest. While requests that delegates be given transportation were denied, leaves of absence were authorized, as well as free and unrestricted use of the military telegraph.

Chairman Foreman reported on his activities, but the main interest centered on what was going on in the States, where Roosevelt was preparing the stage for the American duplicate of the Paris caucus. Foreman had kept in close touch with Roosevelt, who summarized his efforts in the following cable:

All going well. Expect over one thousand delegates at the St. Louis caucus, May 8, embracing all States in the Union. Organization going in every State. Delegates at St. Louis being elected by convention system in every State. Returning soldiers will find established machinery created for election of delegates to general American Legion convention to be held this fall. Plans for consideration of caucus are: Indorsement of name "American Legion" and a six-phrase confession of faith similar to that adopted at Paris. Creation of Executive Committee to co-operate

with Executive Committee created in France and put American Legion definitely in operation. American Legion organization is springing into existence all over America. Request that returning men get in touch with state organizations and co-operate in creation of machinery for November convention.

The Executive Committee named a Liaison Committee of seventeen to co-ordinate the work of the elements of the Legion which were developing so rapidly on two sides of the ocean. Bennett Clark was the chairman. Clark and several other members of the committee left shortly afterward for the United States to represent the A. E. F. at the St. Louis body. They also bore to the Missouri metropolis the A. E. F. committee's choice of a meeting place for the November convention, which the caucus acted on but not so favorably, because the choice happened to be Chicago.

The Clark committee saw that the St. Louis caucus named an executive committee of one hundred, similar to the A. E. F. meeting which acted favorably upon most of the recommendations of the overseas body. The arrangement was for the two committees to meet and consolidate when the A. E. F. got home. This homecoming, however, was such a prolonged affair that the plan was never carried out. An American Executive Committee of one hundred was named at St. Louis. It resolved itself into a working committee of seventeen which combined with the A. E. F. liaison body into a joint committee of thirty-four.

The A. E. F. dwindled and vanished. When Foreman and White returned they offered their resignations in favor of Lindsley and Wood, chairman and secretary respectively of the executive body formed at St. Louis; and in this manner the Legion came home with the Army.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAUCUS AT ST. LOUIS

MAY of 1919 is to be remembered in the United States as a time big with hesitations. The war was over; but all was not well. America was awakening to a dazed realization of the fact that all her straining of mind and muscle for the last two years was not to be let down, that the time of hectic celebrations of victory was over and done with, that the Nation was still tramping forward into a very clouded future. There was a vague resentfulness of all this. A great restlessness and doubtfulness had taken the minds of the people. For a year the energies of the Nation had been bent on the bringing about of victory. Like the goal the runner sets himself to reach, this victory beckoned with appealing visions of resting in the shade, of a letting down of all effort and a throwing off of all care.

Then victory came. For months the Nation gave itself over to an uproarious content, for the war was over. But the continued contemplation of that fact soon palled. A thousand voices rose that had been stilled by the emergency of the great effort. Voices whispered of infinite perplexities, of nations at cross-purposes, of the inefficiency of governments. Russia stood in the East as a great menace of the overturning of everything; her shadow was stretching across the world, and in that shadow were springing up the fungus growths of lawlessness and class hatred everywhere. The citizenship of the country was very confused and doubtful, caught in the cross-currents of conflicting apprehensions and convictions and deafened by the clamor of all the agitators in the world shouting from the housetops.

Over in Paris the Peace Conference was continuing its endless sittings. Clamor of orators, silence of diplomats, a thousand Old World greeds and hatreds straining at the leash, a thousand New World creeds confused and weakening;

no good tidings from the East—not from Paris, at all events. The curtain was rising on the Great Disappointment.

Here in America the two million were practically all returned from France, the other three million were released from the training camps, all stepping out of the narrow world of military service into this confused and doubtful world of civil life, into a nation that had changed wonderfully since they had gone into the barracks. Their return added another element of uncertainty. What of these five million, their minds separated from the civilian mind by two years of hard and silent service, by strange experiences unguessed at, which the five million themselves would not open their lips to explain? Here was the prime of the youth of the Nation preserving an ominous silence. A thousand guesses and wild rumors ran about concerning them. American infantry going bolshevik in Russia, throwing their rifles in the mud in scorn of orders to parade in Paris; troops starving in Brest, opening fire on English soldiery—no report was too wild to find its circle of listeners.

And furthermore, the five million were organizing. Organization is the great faculty of the American mind. Now the fighting citizens of America, divided from the rest by a deep experience, were getting together to shape an instrument of incalculable power. Radicals took heart and politicians pricked up their ears. Between stranded Europe and drifting America was this new force a menace or a promise, a tempest or a trade-wind?

Then a meeting was held in St. Louis. The meeting was a voice, the voice was heard all over the country. It spoke thrice in three days, on May 8th, 9th and 10th, 1919.

The first day it proclaimed: The American Legion is true to its name. It is not an organization of officers or of any aspiring personalities. It is the voice of the veterans of America.

The second day it proclaimed: The Legion is of and for the Republic. It is the enemy of the enemies of the

Republic. It stands against radicalism and all disloyalty. It delivered this message sharply to the Pacific Northwest and the city of Chicago.

The third day it proclaimed: The Legion is to be built on a rock, on the Constitution of the United States—a strong fortress of patriotism and a great machine of service and constructive citizenship.

The five million had been heard. I do not mean to say that the five million were represented in the St. Louis caucus, not even a tenth of them, in actual numbers. There were other veterans organizations springing up all about, and a great element of the ex-soldiers was still standing skeptically aloof from all suggestion of organization. But the meeting in St. Louis was thoroughly representative for all that. The Legion idea had taken the minds of ex-service men all over the country, and the Legion organization was developing tenfold more swiftly than any other organization. The caucus had been attended to overflowing from all parts of the country, and from all classes and divisions of the military and naval service. It proved that the Legion had taken hold all over the country as the logical organization of the ex-service man, and it proved as well that the ex-service man had a very definite and decided mind of his own.

The caucus at St. Louis was really the turning point of the career of the Legion. It was called in the midst of a most doubtful period in the psychology of the Nation, and its calling was simply a continuation of the Paris experiment. Nobody could foresee how it would turn out. Its opportunities for error were numberless. It had no precedent or tradition behind it. In the face of all these things the remarkable thing was the unanimity of sentiment displayed and the thorough grasp and fearless and practical working out of pressing and vital problems.

These things were carried through with all the *élan* and color of the mercurial American temperament, and with all the deep practical shrewdness and grasp of organization

that underlie that American temperament. As a matter of fact, the caucus was simply a succession of stresses and high-lights from beginning to end, a series of alarums and excursions and loud enthusiasms that stimulated and clarified while seeming to veil the deep intents and ideals of the assemblage.

The convention opened with clamor when Theodore Roosevelt called it to order, and a roar went up for young Teddy for permanent chairman. The Shubert-Jefferson Theater was packed and bristling with the banners of the various delegations. Every State in the Union, save North Carolina, was loudly represented. From the stage, pit and galleries went up a continuous roar.

Presently a slight, erect figure strolled out into the centre of confusion on the stage and began pounding a vicious gavel. This was Roosevelt. His call for order had an instant effect. The roar redoubled. He pounded some more. Hats and banners went into the air and the hall shook. Young Teddy smiled and went to pounding in a very business-like manner. When the noise went down he raised his hands and tried to speak; when it came up again he shrugged his shoulders and took to pounding again. Finally he made himself heard.

"Gentlemen," he said, in his small, pleasant voice, "let's proceed with the business of the meeting. The floor is open for nominations for permanent chairman."

Jack Sullivan, of Seattle, was a shade quicker on the draw than the rest. "Gentlemen," he whooped, and as he went on we heard something about a man who was first in the front line trenches and had proved himself a sterling patriot. When he came to "worthy son of a worthy sire" we knew whom he meant, and the name Theodore Roosevelt was drowned out in the wave of cheering. Nothing more could be heard. Roosevelt stamped and shook his head. Swiftly the cheering resolved itself into the familiar chant, "We want Teddy! We—want—Teddy!"

Here was the first crisis and turning point of the convention, developing within two minutes after the meeting was called to order. At that moment the Legion stood in grave peril of a course that would have led to its ultimate failure—a course that would have put it in the light of a personally conducted organization under the glamour of the Roosevelt name. Most of the cheering delegates never thought of this, but in the whole assemblage there was one man who did think of it, and that one man happened to be the right man. It was Mr. Roosevelt himself. This was Roosevelt's moment. He rose to meet it superbly, and guided the Legion for the last time it needed one man's guidance; and he did one of the finest things of his life.

It was a hard thing to do. The convention's mood swiftly passed into a sort of mob stubbornness. They wanted Teddy and they were going to have him. They would hear of nothing else. How could that slight, youthful figure on the stage bear up against the concentrated will-power of a thousand men? Impossible. So the clamor rose and fell and rose again. Young Roosevelt finally got silence and his pleasant voice rose to the breaking point as he put away the nomination in short, determined words that should have carried conviction. But the delegates were beyond conviction. They were the mob in full cry. There was something fine about it, too, and it must have held a great appeal to the man who heard sounding for him that long call that he could not quiet. Young Roosevelt felt it. He walked about the stage in evident agitation. He looked very young and very troubled.

Well, he held out. During a lull in the uproar an ex-sergeant from Maine nominated an ex-colonel from Texas, Henry D. Lindsley, and told how Mr. Lindsley had resigned as Mayor of Dallas, and had gone to France and won the Distinguished Service Medal. The nomination was seconded by a delegate from Ohio. Confusion rose again.

Mr. Roosevelt began pounding with the gavel again. He succeeded in increasing the sum total of noise.

W. E. Bolling of Tennessee rose to second Roosevelt's nomination, which had not occurred to anyone before. John Beazley of Texas rose to call attention to Roosevelt's manifest determination and to speak a few well chosen words for Mr. Lindsley. He was listened to with good nature and then the uproar for Roosevelt rose again. The nominations were closed. Mr. Roosevelt withdrew his name. "I mean what I say," he cried. "So do we," howled the caucus. An Oklahoman moved that Roosevelt's election be made unanimous. It was done. Roosevelt resigned like a shot. In the pause of surprise that followed he got in an earnest declaration of his determination. Speeches followed insisting on his acceptance. A motion was passed that he yield the chair to Bennett Clark. There was more wrangling, and then matters came to a head again with the nominations reopened and Roosevelt once more nominated.

Now came Jack Greenway of Arizona. He had followed a Roosevelt at San Juan Hill. Another Roosevelt had followed him at Cantigny. He made a good straight talk and suggested that Roosevelt might reconsider his decision if his name should be brought up in the National Convention of the Legion to be held in November. This ended the Roosevelt episode.

Jack Sullivan was placed in nomination by a delegate from the District of Columbia. There were cries for the candidates to come out on the stage and show themselves before the vote. Sullivan came up growling over something he had overheard about the organization being run by officers. "Speaking in behalf of the enlisted men," he said, "I want to say that this is a lie. . . . I do not know the gentleman from Texas, but they tell me he has won the D. S. M. . . . I want to withdraw in behalf of the gentleman from Texas." Mr. Lindsley here came on the stage to withdraw in Sullivan's favor. There was an uproar raised against

the withdrawal of either man. Then Mr. Lindsley met the occasion very well.

"The main thing is to get to business," he shouted. "Elect your chairman and get on with the work you came here to do." The roll was called, Lindsley leading. Before the finish, Sullivan withdrew his name and moved to make Lindsley's election unanimous. This was done, and Mr. Lindsley took the chair.

Mr. Sullivan was at once elected vice-chairman on Mr. Roosevelt's nomination. Eric Fisher Wood was promoted from acting to permanent secretary. The rules of procedure of the House of Representatives were adopted, with the exception that debate was limited to five minutes. A. L. Boyce of New York and Talbott of Ohio were chosen sergeants-at-arms. A platoon of them would have been needed to enforce quiet; but business went on.

Next came the report of the advance Committee of Forty-nine, preceded by a brief explanation by the secretary of the nature of the committee and its necessity. The report of the committee recommended ten committees for the caucus, under the following heads: (1) Credentials; (2) Temporary Name of Organization; (3) Organization; (4) Resolutions; (5) Constitution and By-laws and a Declaration of Principles; (6) Time and Place of Next Meeting; (7) Publication; (8) Emblem; (9) Permanent Headquarters; (10) Finance. A permanent Executive Committee also was recommended.

This advance committee or Committee of Forty-nine was a happy thought. Before the convention the Executive Committee you read of in the preceding chapter realized the necessity of blocking out a program in advance if the caucus were to finish its work in as brief a time as three days. But this committee very properly refused to go ahead in this on its own account, feeling that it was the duty of the caucus itself. A way was found out of the difficulty by telegraphing every state delegation, requesting them to send one of their

delegates to St. Louis three days in advance of the date set for the caucus. These delegates made up the advance committee which drew up the suggested program of the caucus. The report of the advance committee was adopted, with the provision that each state delegation make its own selection of men for the various committees at once, and that the chairman make his appointments in accordance with these selections.

Hamilton Fish of New York made the point that the Navy was not yet represented among the officers of the caucus and moved that a second vice-chairman be chosen from that branch of the service. The motion was adopted, with the amendment that a third vice-chairman be selected from the Marine Corps. A lieutenant, an ensign and a chief petty officer were nominated from the Navy in swift succession. Then rose Jesus Baca of New Mexico with a nomination of Fred Humphrey of New Mexico—"just an ordinary seaman." The ordinary seaman won the place at the finish of two tumultuous roll calls. He was brought on the stage, a good-looking boy with a broad grin, and informed the caucus that he was glad to accept the position and would do "everything that a deck-swabbing sailor can do" to fill it. Next day P. C. Calhoun of Connecticut and the Marine Corps, who very conscientiously had it announced from the stage that he was not an overseas man, was elected third vice-chairman.

During the call of the roll this second day there fluttered a brief gust of the wind that was soon to blow over the caucus and blow over the Nation as well. When the secretary in calling the roll came to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council, there came from the floor a roar of objections. A delegate got the floor and cried, "In its deliberations this morning the Credentials Committee ruled out the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council." There was loud affirmation.

The adequate Lindsley met this properly. "The Chair rules that those who have been voting will have a right to vote till the report of the Credentials Committee has been

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submitted and you have acted upon it," he said. The secretary went on with the roll, but there was no response from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council.

Let me digress here to ask you to recall your feelings toward bolshevism in May of 1919. Bolshevism was not then the abandoned theory that it is now. Then it took the form of a red menace, sweeping the world like fire in underbrush. Russia had practically declared war against the governments of the world, with the purpose of bringing about a world-wide uprising of the mob. Central Europe was swaying between bolshevism and more bolshevism. Italy appeared to be going the same way. England was in the grip of a great labor movement for control of the nation. The chatter of radicals in the United States was rapidly rising into a roar. And no high voice had been raised against them yet.

Here is the report of the Credentials Committee:

"We recommend that all delegates to the American Legion, selected and now functioning from the various States, districts and Territories, be seated and accredited with one full vote. And that all independent organizations, organized and having delegates here, be allowed one vote, with the exception of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council, which delegation the committee recommends shall be excluded from this caucus."

It was moved the report be adopted. Chairman Lindsley said, "I understand that a delegate from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council is here and asks to be heard." There came an uproar of disapproval. Lindsley continued—mark his words, "We are for a fair deal, and without a motion I ask you to hear this delegate."

Sherman H. Curtin of Seattle, the Soldiers' and Sailors' delegate, came on the stage amid a rising clamor. "Give me a hearing," he shouted. "Give him a hearing," echoed Mr. Roosevelt and others upstage. The clamor changed. "Give him a hearing," shouted the delegates on the floor.

What the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council was is of little import now, for it received its *coup de grâce* on that afternoon of May 10th, 1919. It was one of the most promising of various radical organizations that were trying to enroll the ex-service men at that time. This is the event that blighted their hopes.

Mr. Curtin came directly to the point. He saw that he was not received with favor, but started in to make the best of it. "I have never showed any bolshevist tendencies," he shouted, "and I defy any man present to prove the contrary. It is true that there are some I. W. W. in the organization that I represent, but . . . I got in there for the purpose of kicking them out, and I want your help." This brought applause.

He went on to say that a conservative faction under his leadership had practical control of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council and was endeavoring to bring it into the line of American ideals, and that he had come down to see if the Legion was going to pledge itself to the principles of democracy as set down in the Constitution of the United States. He added that he had rewritten the constitution of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council and went on with a plea for the backing of the Legion.

Here he was interrupted by George H. H. Pratt of Louisiana, a sergeant. "Sir," he cried, "is it or is it not true that you wrote or rewrote the constitution now in effect in your organization, and is it or is it not true that it is so worded that American Army or Navy officers or former officers are not eligible? Is that true? Answer 'yes' or 'no.' "

Curtin was taken aback. Hooting and clamor arose. We were the pack in full cry again. It was hard for any man to face such an audience. He began slowly, "I will answer that question and I will answer it in a fair way."

"Answer 'yes' or 'no,' " yelled Pratt above the clamor.

Curtin fired up. "I am not here for the purpose of

being persecuted. I am not answering 'yes' or 'no' questions. It is true in letter, but not in spirit."

The fireworks broke loose again, with cries of "Put him out!" and dismal hooting. Now one of the Washington delegates rose, Russ Simenton. "In due fairness to Sergeant Curtin," he began, "I wish to say that during our recent demonstration of bolshevism in Seattle, the gentleman who stands before you commanded a machine gun platoon on the side of right and law and order." This brought applause.

Another delegate from Washington arose in protest and denounced Mr. Curtin's organization, though commending Curtin personally. He declared the organization was bad and Curtin represented a minority in it.

"But we can lick the majority," shouted Curtin. His statement brought hisses and laughter. Captain C. B. McDonald, who had charge of the Intelligence Department at Camp Lewis and Seattle, was called on by a Washington delegate to make a statement. He said:

"This man represents the element we were working against. . . . Personally, he is all right, but he is backing that organization, and he is here as the official representative of that organization. If he wants to be admitted, let him cut loose from it and come into this organization."

This was the end. Mr. Curtin got the floor with difficulty, through the intercession of the Chair, for a final statement. He said he was going back to clean his organization out.

"Do that," they yelled, and hooted him off the stage. The vote was taken on the exclusion of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Council and it was affirmed by a thunderous acclamation. Mr. Curtin left the hall.

In this violent fashion the Legion rejected radicalism. It howled down a well-meaning young fellow who wore spectacles. It was a little pathetic. But the overshadowing fact is that the American Legion in convention assembled raised the first and loudest outcry against radicalism of any

organization of ex-service men, established the American Legion for the Constitution of the United States and against forces making for its overthrow, and rejected thunderously the slightest commerce with bolshevism.

The soldiers of America had spoken for the first time through their largest and their all-inclusive organization, and they had spoken for the America that is.

The Name Committee reported, recommending "The American Legion of World's War Veterans." This was amended to read "The American Legion" and adopted. The Committee on Resolutions presented a resolution calling for support of the Victory Loan, which was adopted. Next came the report of the Committee on Time and Place of the Next Meeting. November 10th, 11th and 12th, 1919, was submitted as the time, and it was recommended that the convention be held in Chicago.

Grover F. Sexton of Illinois rose up in the lower box, a tall, well-appearing man in a major's uniform. He faced outwards to the audience, leaned forward against the balustrade, and began, very quietly and confidently.

"When you consider the place for your next convention, Chicago will ask you, 'What do you want?' And in response to your reply, Chicago will answer, 'We will give you whatever you want—' "

There was stillness in the house. Suddenly, a great voice rose from the Texas delegation in the gallery.

"Texas—wants—to know—who—in the hell—is the Mayor of Chicago!" Then the outcry arose. Men danced on their chairs and yelled. Motions were put and lost in the noise. There was a motion to recess for half an hour. The steady howling drowned it out. The Illinois delegation looked on bewildered at the storm, their lips moving, puzzled, not angry yet. Seemingly they had forgotten the statement of William Hale Thompson, the Mayor of Chicago, that Chicago was the sixth German city in the world; and his various unpatriotic utterances. The outcry went on.

Finally, in the pit, a tall man in civilian clothes got the floor. He was John F. J. Herbert of Massachusetts, a colonel; strong features; a good voice; and he had something to say. I am going to give his speech in full:

"As a spokesman for the Massachusetts delegation on this question, I want to say that if no other body or if no part of any other body wants or believes it its duty and will do its duty, to rebuke any city or the representative of any city for un-Americanism during the time when the soldiers of that city were offering their lives in defense of the world, then Massachusetts stands ready to offer that rebuke. Massachusetts will not agree, willingly, to having a convention of soldiers—soldiers in the great war—go to a city that has as its first citizen, by vote of the people of that city, one who cannot measure up in any small part when the test is one hundred per cent. Americanism.

"This hall has been placarded with signs reading, 'American Legion, Chicago wants you in November.' I believe this caucus, this caucus of soldiers, should say, 'Chicago, you cannot have American soldiers in Chicago when there is a possibility that the chief representative of that city may not believe it his duty to come before the convention and welcome it.'

"If these placards had read, 'American Legion, Chicago's soldiers want you in November,' our answer might have been different. Literature circulated through this caucus reads, 'Chicago pledges itself to go any other city one better on anything this caucus requires.' This convention first requires that Chicago shall reach the standard of being a one hundred per cent. American city. It is now a most despised city, and when it has reached the other standard it will then be in a position to state whether it can go any other city one better. It has not yet reached par. Until Chicago reaches par, Massachusetts votes, 'No.' "

Quite an ordinary speech, commenced with the stammering of a man in deadly earnest, and ending haltingly; but

it had a strange effect. This big Yankee was thinking the thoughts of a thousand delegates and putting them into words as he went along, and bringing them home with a great voice. This was Mr. Herbert's moment; he dominated the convention and spoke to the country. He voiced the message of the Legion against disloyalty.

Before he had finished men were tearing down the Chicago posters that hung in great profusion about the hall. They came down from the galleries in a snowstorm. A great canvas reading "Chicago Bids You Welcome" was torn down from over the stage. All noises merged in a continuous roar.

Finally an Illinois delegate got the floor; John P. Cummings of Chicago. Behind him stood the Illinois delegation, pale and frowning; they were evidently distressed—which shows the force of pent emotion in that hall. The soldiers of Illinois were in no way responsible for the Mayor of Chicago. In well chosen and evidently heartfelt words, Mr. Cummings protested against the demonstration on behalf of the soldiers and sailors of Illinois. He pleaded that the convention not impugn the patriotism of these men and bring them insult on account of the record of one man.

"No, no!" roared the convention when he came to the word "insult." Men looked at each other wondering. How had they insulted the soldiers and sailors of Illinois?

Other towns were placed in nomination—Minneapolis, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Atlantic City, Kansas City, San Francisco. The vote was taken by States. Minneapolis led, then Pittsburgh, then Chicago and the rest. Delegates were laughing by this time; give the credit to Roy Hoffman of Oklahoma. The vote had run close. The appeal of Mr. Cummings had had its effect. Michigan and then Nebraska, "out of consideration for the soldiers of Illinois," cast their votes for Chicago. When Mr. Hoffman cast the twenty votes of Oklahoma he announced that these were cast for Minneapolis "out of consideration for the soldiers of Illinois." The soldiers of Illinois began to smile.

A second vote was taken on Minneapolis and Pittsburgh. Minneapolis was chosen.

Now Luke Lea of Tennessee, ex-United States Senator, and trained to quick thinking on convention floors, proposed a resolution to the effect that this action of the Legion cast no reflection on the patriotism of the men and women of Chicago and that the caucus records "its admiration of the valor . . . of the thousands upon thousands of Chicago's sons whose pure patriotism has been proven on the battlefields of France."

Herbert took the stage on a point of personal privilege. The house was very quiet. He spoke more fluently this time. He told the men of Illinois of the affection and honor that he and the men of Massachusetts had for them, and he did it very well. The tension disappeared; you could see that the soldiers of Illinois felt a response to his words. Very touching and soldierly, this last scene was. And the session adjourned in high good feeling.

The first two days had been given over to the establishing of the Legion in its own mind and in the consciousness of the Nation at large. This was the first thing to do and it had been well done. The Legion now stood forth as a great definite force, a national force. It had proclaimed its independence of personal control, it had repudiated radicalism, and it had rebuked disloyalty, all this in no uncertain tones.

Furthermore, a sense of self-sacrifice for the good of the whole had been developed suddenly and surprisingly throughout the membership of the caucus. This springs from a habit and a sense of self-discipline that the military service engenders in a man, and it stands as a striking proof that the soldiers of America in war are still the soldiers of America in peace. Likewise this suppression of self may be taken to indicate the devotion to the Legion and the ardent wish for its success that was already springing up in the hearts of the ex-service men. The reasons for this feeling among the

men were many; selfish and unselfish, practical and devoted; the point is that the feeling was there.

Here are a few examples of this self-restraint for the good of the Legion. I do not think a man came to the caucus at St. Louis without sincere convictions on the question of the League of Nations, for that question was already agitating the Nation. There were hundreds who would have ardently desired a great public expression on one side or the other of this much-disputed matter. It was argued incessantly in the lodgings of the delegates and during the recesses. Yet it was never brought up on the floor. The delegates realized that it was not for the good of the Legion that the Legion concern itself with this matter of international policy. And they let it go at that.

There is prohibition, for example. A great element among the ex-service men were darkly resentful of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. They felt that it had been slipped over behind their backs. Others had been prohibitionists before they went into the service and still maintained their views. There was really a great deal of feeling over this matter at the time, and few men there would not have felt a personal satisfaction in a strong stand taken by the Legion in the affair; but still more deeply did they realize that the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution was not the thing for the American Legion to pick a quarrel with. They passed the matter up.

These are two examples. There were plenty of others. Most all the men had decided convictions concerning the Regular Army and also concerning the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy. A great deal of picturesque language was devoted to descriptions of the military censorship. And the race problem in America, and the problem of universal military service, and a dozen others—all of them awakened great individual feeling and all of them were led gently but firmly back into a corner and suppressed so far as the Legion was concerned. So greatly even at that

early date did their concern for the Legion dominate personal prejudices of the men.

There was nothing of the pussyfoot in this feeling, at least not much. Chicago and Seattle had learned that the Legion dared speak out.

When Chairman Lindsley called the caucus to order Saturday morning, the Executive Committee had been in session the most of the night before. They were on hand, but their eyes were heavy. The chairman mentioned this meeting and said that to him it evidenced a splendid crystallization of the real purpose and spirit of the Legion. He asked Chaplain John W. Inzer of Alabama to tell the caucus about it. Chaplain Inzer talks well. In the true flush of Southern eloquence he painted a roseate picture of the glory and the strength of the Legion. It can be summed up in one of his paragraphs:

"As little as you dreamed it when you came here, and as little as you thought it in the commitment of time, I believe today that we stand at the dawn of the republic of man which is nothing short of the Kingdom of God on earth when men shall be men."

We know today that we are still some distance from the Kingdom of God. But there was a flush and a fine desire about those beginnings of the Legion that should not be forgotten. Despite all petty and personal motives, all selfishness, all turbulence, the creation of the Legion indicates that, though self-interest be the controlling factor of life, it cannot stand altogether alone. There are things that override it, sometimes.

But Chaplain Inzer is far from a visionary. He urged the necessity of quick and concentrated effort to get through with the work of the caucus; he put before us a statement of the pressing problems of the unemployed and the disabled veterans, and in general put his hearers in the mood to get busy and to work with vision. He got sincere applause.

Now came the Committee on Resolutions with the

result of a night's hard work. First they submitted a declaration of principles. This was referred to the Constitution and By-laws Committee. Their second resolution was an endorsement of the Victory Loan. This was passed.

Next came a condemnation of conscientious objectors and of the pardoning of them by the Government after their conviction; closing with a resolution that the caucus "demand a full and complete investigation by Congress of the trial and conviction of these parties, and of their subsequent pardon."

The next resolution offered called for the deportation of aliens who had evaded military service. Jack Sullivan of Seattle, where the radicals were very strong at the time, moved a substitute and stronger resolution and pleaded for it in fiery words. Amendments were offered to strengthen it still further, amid riotous enthusiasm. Militant Americanism took the house. Exaltation was heightened by an incident that caught at the heart. A delegate was helped onto the stage. There were two wound stripes on his sleeve. He had lost a leg. He hitched forward between two crutches.

"I am Private Sosnin of Kentucky," he said. "I was born and raised in Poland. I came here and lived under the American Constitution. At the age of thirty-seven I left my business and my family to volunteer to fight for this country. If any of my former fellow-countrymen . . . or any other . . . is so despicable . . . (he paused, fighting to express himself in English) so despicable . . . as not wanting . . . to fight for the flag which gave freedom . . . I say 'Damn him, kick him out!' " He half collapsed.

Honor to Private M. L. Sosnin of Kentucky; he is a good man. They passed that resolution.

A resolution for putting an end to the misuse of the American uniform that was beginning in those days was adopted. Also one in favor of land reclamation projects of the Government.

Here is the beginning of the next resolution, which has

been the guiding star of American Legion policy ever since and one of the finest embodiments of the spirit of the Legion:

Whereas, no principle is more sound than that growing out of the general patriotic attitude toward the returning soldier, vouchsafing to him return to his former employment or a better position; therefore,

Be it Resolved, that the American Legion, in national caucus assembled, declares to the people of the United States that no act can be more unpatriotic in these most serious days of readjustment and reconstruction than the violation of the principles announced which pledge immediate re-employment to returned soldiers and sailors.

This was the beginning of the Legion's campaign against the indifference of a rescued Nation. It is a campaign which has taken many forms.

A resolution was introduced by the Resolutions Committee, calling attention to the great financial sacrifices of those who went to war and comparing them with the huge financial profits accruing to those who stayed at home; and calling for a grant of six months' additional pay at the rate of thirty dollars a month to every ex-service man who had served six months or more. It provided also for fifteen dollars for each month served by those who did not complete six months of service. Mr. Lindsley made a short statement calling for a careful consideration of this resolution. A brief discussion followed. It was moved and carried to lay the whole matter on the table and await a more thorough examination of the subject by the Minneapolis Convention.

A resolution was adopted calling for the deportation of every naturalized citizen convicted under the Espionage Act. The caucus went on record that all ex-service men of the National Guard and the National Army be placed on an equal basis with the Regular Army as to retirement for disability. A resolution was adopted that the Legion pledge its support to a campaign of education and activity to the end that the rights, privileges and benefits under the War Risk Insurance Act be conserved and the men discharged from service be brought to realize them; and that the Legion recommend the amendment of the act to provide

for an option of payment at maturity as an annuity or as a lump sum, and to provide that the insured be permitted to select his beneficiaries regardless of family relationship.

It was worthy of note how the delegates stayed by the guns. They were wearied by the enthusiasm of the first two days and by the general excitement of the reunion, and they faced a final day of grim plodding through necessary business that was not inviting, or would not have been inviting to men less intimately interested. The delegates certainly showed a spirit of determination, a good omen for the Legion. They came together for the last time at 2.50 Saturday afternoon. Chaplain Inzer offered a pregnant resolution "That the delegates from the several States shall instruct the State organizations they represent to see to it that every disabled soldier, sailor and marine be brought into contact with the Rehabilitation Department of the Federal Board for Vocational Education."

The resolution was adopted.

Now came the report of the Committee on Constitution, By-laws and a Declaration of Principles. The declaration came first. This was the first reading of the great preamble of the American Legion Constitution. It came at the opportune time, it summed up the spirit of our endeavors, it forecast a mighty future for us. It was adopted word for word. In that moment the American Legion stepped forth before the Nation, a force made visible, a soul with a voice, the incarnation of a great endeavor.

One is frequently asked who wrote the preamble of the Legion's constitution. No one person, or no two or four persons wrote that preamble or any considerable part of it. Twenty or maybe forty persons had a hand in the work. It was the composite effort of a large committee, which accepted and utilized suggestions both as to wording and as to substance from other delegates and other veterans some of whom were not able to attend the caucus. The constitution itself was pieced together in much the same way. One

man brought with him to St. Louis a tentative draft of a constitution which had been written for the occasion by Elihu Root, one of the most eminent constitutional lawyers of our generation. This draft didn't get to first base, though it was a masterfully constructed document. It lacked the veteran's point of view; it missed the spirit and the purpose of the Legion as the soldier-sailor delegates conceived them. So the Legion wrote its own constitution, with the aid of younger lawyers who had laid aside their books and briefs to shoulder rifles. Some of these young lawyers already have gone far and will go farther ere the Legion passes into the shadows.

The caucus went on down through the temporary constitution point by point, very faithfully. In the section on membership they made provision that American citizens who served in the Allied armies be eligible. In the section on "local unit" they changed the suggested designation of the unit from "billet" to "post," and made provision that no post be named after a living man. They were determined to finish the job to the last detail, and they did, though they knew they were working on a provisional constitution that was bound to be altered by the National Convention in the fall.

The caucus thus finished the creation of the Legion. It had laid it down on lines as wide as the national interests and as deep as the deepest current of the Nation's life. It had sketched the policies that the Legion has followed, is following, and must always follow if it is to live. It had established the Legion, surnamed American.

Mr. Lindsley, the chairman, had the last word. "This has been a momentous gathering, this is a splendid close. All those favoring adjournment vote 'Aye.'"

CHAPTER V

CRITICAL DAYS

"For God and Country," said the veterans at St. Louis, "we associate ourselves together for the following purposes:

"1. To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America;

"2. To maintain law and order;

"3. To foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent. Americanism;

"4. To preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the great war;

"5. To inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State and Nation;

"6. To combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses;

"7. To make right the master of might;

"8. To promote peace and good will on earth;

"9. To safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy;

"10. To consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

Such are the Ten Commandments of the American Legion. A more accurate summary of the elements of good citizenship would be very difficult to write. Such were the specifications, as expressed in the words of the preamble of the temporary constitution adopted by the caucus, on which the builders of the Legion were instructed to proceed with their job.

At Paris Bishop Brent pointed out that there are two ways of creating an organization. One is by formulating the principles and leaving the body to take its own shape in conformity with these tenets; the other, by creating an executive and administrative mechanism and to reach the

ends desired through the operation of that machinery. He favored the former method, which is less susceptible of misuse. On the evidence of the Paris caucus the Legion won the powerful support of Bishop Brent. At St. Louis the Bishop's faith in the Legion was vindicated.

As definitely launched in the United States by the St. Louis caucus, the Legion began its career with the good will of most of the country. People were anxious to see it under way and with a fair chance to demonstrate its fitness to achieve the great things it had proclaimed to be its objects. In the popular mind the returned soldier or sailor ceased to be a hero and had come to be a problem. This fact was not obscured from the soldiers and sailors themselves. It is not pleasant to be regarded as a problem. Neither is it pleasant to regard oneself as surrounded by four or five million kindred problems. Consequently the months of reassimilation were trying times all around; trying for the veterans and trying for the other people.

But the ex-service men declined to concede themselves to be as much of a problem as they were generally made out. With the Legion as their instrument, they intended to prove to the Nation that they were capable not only of taking care of their own difficulties, but of contributing toward the constructive thought required to cope with the larger issues confronting the country as a whole in the perplexing period of transition. Having borne the brunt of the war, here were the veterans waving aside their own troubles, which were neither few nor small, to lend a hand at the more general problems of peace. The country liked this exhibition of a game spirit. President Wilson wrote:

> I am happy to have this opportunity to address a word of greeting and comradeship to the men who have served in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps and are now banding themselves together to preserve the splendid traditions of the service. I have had a chance to see these men on land and on sea, at home and abroad. The spirit of their service, and the continuation of that spirit in the American Legion, will make it always an inspiration to the full performance of high and difficult duties.

A little later the President joined the first Legion post to receive its national charter, George Washington Post, of Washington, D. C. The post originally was called John J. Pershing, but at St. Louis, you will recall, it was decided that no post should be named for a living person.

The particular points about the Legion which struck the public favorably are well set out in the editorial comment of *Collier's Weekly* on the St. Louis caucus:

> A national convention of American soldiers and sailors in which no grievances were aired, no political axes ground, no special privileges or preferments demanded; where oratorical "bunk" was hooted down; where social discriminations were taboo and military rank counted not at all; where the past glories of war were subordinated to the future glories of peace and where the national interest was placed above all partisanship—that is something new under the sun.

There was, of course, the inevitable minority which took a contrary view, and this minority was active as minorities are apt to be. Some of this opposition was simply chuckleheadedness—no vision, no foresight. Obstructionists of this type were wont to observe, as one did observe, sententiously, that "there is no need of such an organization now that the country is entering the era of peace." Then there were the apostles and disciples of radicalism who would apply Russian revolutionary methods as a cure for our American ills. A certain coolness sprang up between these folks and the Legion. The Reds were vexed when it began to be apparent that their efforts were being rather efficaciously confounded and their hopes disappointed by the attitude of the Legion on the point of law and order. The hob-nailed heel of the Legion came down harder and harder on the designs of the radicals who in the end did not hesitate at murder in their endeavor to remove this obstacle to the attainment of their destructive ends.

There was a third type of opposition which presented a real problem. While not difficult to fathom, it was less readily turned to advantage (chucklehead and radical opposition was really helpful) or explained away. It was the in-

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LUKE LEA

tangible, whispered rumor that the formation of this great veterans association with such latent potentialities on the eve of the quadrennial "political year" was not a mere coincidence.

Roosevelt's superb conduct at St. Louis had not dispelled all suspicion. The "officers" story still had a life or two left. This style of opposition was rendered more difficult to combat because it never came out into the open where one could get a crack at it. Some perfectly normal and perfectly honest Americans became able to see in the Legion a dangerous, sinister, class-conscious machine conniving for political domination. The "soldier vote" resumed its almost forgotten place in the lexicon of politics. There it has had its sole existence thus far.

This state of affairs had a good deal to do with the delicate situation precipitated by the Mayor of New York at the Legion's reception to General Pershing at Madison Square Garden in New York on September 11th, 1919, a few days after the Commander in Chief's triumphal return from the A. E. F. The return of Pershing was a great event, and as often is the case on such occasions there was a noon-hour rush to shine in the reflected glory of a national hero. The inside story of the national welcome expressed so brilliantly in New York City reveals some right sparkling bits of intrigue. I shall digress to give one incident in this connection, because it concerns the Legion and illustrates so aptly the feeling in certain quarters toward the new organization.

Chairman Lindsley conveyed to Pershing in person the Legion's invitation to be the guest of honor at a veterans mass meeting to be held at the Garden under Legion auspices. General Pershing accepted, and curious things began to happen.

The performance of amenities made the General while in New York the official guest of Mayor John F. Hylan. In many respects it was a fortunate circumstance. Mr.

Hylan is a man of certain force, great energy, unswerving tenacity, and profound respect for the correctness of his own judgments. As host to the Nation's idol of the hour, Mr. Hylan's task was not easy, and the outstanding qualities of the Mayor's make-up stood him in good stead. In the matter of the Pershing reception the Mayor meant to run the show—and he meant to run it to the effacement of the American Legion as far as possible, for Mayor Hylan was among those who had misunderstood and misjudged the Legion. In fairness to him it must be recalled that he was not alone in that class at that early day.

But in the fall of 1919 Mayor Hylan had the "soldier vote" complex, and when he learned that New York's distinguished guest had accepted an invitation to speak at a Legion meeting, it was regarded as an extremely unfortunate omen. But since Pershing had accepted, the best that could be done would be to render his appearance before the Legion as brief and as inconspicuous as possible. Legion headquarters had evidence that an acute situation existed. At about 7:30 on the evening of the 11th Cornelius W. Wickersham and Dr. Richard Derby, representing Chairman Lindsley, called at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel to escort General Pershing to Madison Square Garden, where his appearance had been timed for 8:25 o'clock. They found the General in company with Mayor Hylan and the chairman of the Mayor's distinguished visitors committee, Rodman Wanamaker, a son of the great merchant.

The Legionnaires explained the program, including the General's entrance which had been arranged for 8:25. Mayor Hylan protested that this was impossible; that if the General were to appear at the Legion meeting, he must start at once in order to keep an appointment in another part of the city at 8:30 o'clock. Accordingly General Pershing, accompanied by Derby, Wickersham, the Mayor and Mr. Wanamaker set out for Madison Square Garden. They arrived at the Garden at precisely 8 o'clock. Chair-

man Lindsley had just come, the band was playing its opening piece, thousands of ticket holders had not yet entered the hall and hundreds of others were on the way to their seats. The 5,000 inside the hall gave Pershing a tremendous ovation, but the effect of a carefully-timed formal entry was lost.

Derby and Wickersham hastily explained the situation to Chairman Lindsley. While the band was still playing Mayor Hylan asked Mr. Lindsley how long the program would last. Mr. Lindsley said until 9:30, whereupon the Mayor stated he would be obliged to take General Pershing from the meeting sufficiently before 8:30 to fill an engagement at that time. The Mayor suggested that the General be presented to the audience immediately.

A heated colloquy ensued. Mr. Lindsley told the Mayor such an arrangement was impossible. The Mayor protested, but the Legion chairman would not be moved. He said the program had been arranged and would be carried out as determined. The band continued playing; the audience cheering and moving toward seats, little aware of the important drama that was being carried on in whispered tones on the stage before them. It was a drama that affected vitally the future career of the American Legion, for an apparent public slight at Pershing's hands would have cut deeply.

The audience already in seats began to exhibit impatience. Chairman Lindsley was pinning his hope on the arrival of Miss Elsie Janis. She could have held them for fifteen minutes and given the others a chance to reach their seats. Then came another blow in the form of a message from Miss Janis saying she could not arrive before 8.45. The audience in seats clamored for action. Chairman Lindsley opened the meeting, presenting Luke Lea, former United States Senator from Tennessee, who launched into an eloquent and carefully prepared address. General Pershing did not seem to enthuse over some of Mr. Lea's state-

ments, and Mayor Hylan leaned over and whispered to the General:

"You ought to leave. He is talking politics."

It was a tense moment, for Mr. Lea had just made a statement with reference to our Mexican policy which produced in the minds of many hearers the unhappy effect of a plea for intervention. Pershing set his jaws.

"This is a political meeting and ought to be stopped," urged the Mayor.

Lea relieved the situation by bringing his address to a brilliant close eulogistic of Pershing. The throng was on its feet again, cheering. Chairman Lindsley presented General Pershing and there was another outburst. Pershing had promised to say only a few words and no one knew in what vein they would be. He spoke for twenty minutes, however. It was his most significant utterance since his arrival in America. He reviewed the Legion's opportunities for a glorious and useful future. He urged its members to carry on inspired only by motives which would react for the benefit of their country. He closed with a pointed piece of advice to his hearers to keep their organization "free from partisan politics."

Such were the peculiar circumstances of General Pershing's introduction to the Legion. If he had doubts he kept them to himself. He became a member and has found time to take a keener interest in the affairs of the organization, with particular reference to public policy, than the average Legionnaire probably supposes. After spending an hour with Pershing in Washington the late Commander Galbraith once remarked with some surprise at the interest the General displayed and the knowledge he possessed of the work of the organization. At the Kansas City convention General Pershing spoke of himself as a "private in the ranks" of the Legion. These words from the lips of the General of the Armies of the United States made a great impression on Marshal Foch. But—as we shall see—it was at New

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THE FIRST LEGION POSTER

Painted in 1919 by Ernest Hamlin Baker from a photograph posed by three members of the temporary National Headquarters Staff

Orleans in 1922 that a chance incident made Pershing one of *ours* in fact as well as form.

This incident of Madison Square Garden is related to give an idea of the trying conditions amid which the organizers of the Legion worked to create an institution capable of giving effect to the great confession of faith proclaimed at St. Louis. The Legion started with the good will and moral support of a majority of the American people, which was a circumstance in its favor; but so did Georges Carpentier, and see what happened to him.

The Legion escaped the fate of M. Carpentier because it was able in a concrete way to justify its claim to that good will and moral support. This took the form of the indefatigable labors of courageous and unselfish men and women who had the vision to conceive and the capacity to create a physical organization for the American Legion which should be the natural means by which its proclaimed ideals might be made attainable. Just out of uniform, these men and women toiled for months and months at the expense of their long-neglected personal affairs, without pay or thought of reward. No soldiers or sailors have served their country more devotedly than they. From every walk of life they came, from every section of the country, from all groups, all creeds, all classes.

The Executive Committee of One Hundred named at St. Louis met there on the last night of the caucus, and to facilitate the dispatch of business delegated its authority to an Executive Committee of Seventeen which united with the A. E. F. body, forming the Joint National Executive Committee of Thirty-four which elected Henry D. Lindsley chairman, Bennett C. Clark vice-chairman, Eric Fisher Wood secretary, and Gaspar Bacon, of Boston, treasurer. Headquarters were established in New York, thus consolidating the seat of Legion government in the United States.

The new Executive Committee, which was to rule the Legion until permanent officers were chosen at Minneapolis,

held the future of the Legion in its hands. Upon it devolved the task of national organization; the establishment of a National Headquarters, the creation of a working executive body, the carrying out of the program of the St. Louis caucus, the co-ordination of the work of the state and post branches, and the preparations for the first National Convention at Minneapolis. Before departing from St. Louis each state delegation had elected a chairman and a secretary to take charge of the organization of state headquarters and local posts, and to arrange for a convention at which permanent state organizations could be perfected.

In final analysis, the bulk and principal burden of the national work fell to what was known as the Organization Committee of Five, a special body which at the direction of the Executive Committee assumed control of the Legion's affairs between meetings of the Executive Committee which were held in New York once a month. The members of the Committee of Five were Chairman Lindsley, Vice-Chairman Clark, Secretary Wood, Franklin D'Olier of Philadelphia and Dr. Richard Derby of New York. They met at National Headquarters every morning. This committee had wide powers and a varied assortment of responsibilities. It combined the functions of a board of directors, a steering committee, and of general counsel to the several divisions of National Headquarters which were carrying out the dictates of the Paris and St. Louis caucuses. In the course of its busy life practically every question and every issue under the sun which could remotely affect the Legion's future came before this committee. Nearly every day it was called upon to give decisions which might make or break the Legion. It is hardly possible to overstate what the tact and judgment displayed by the Committee of Five has meant to the Legion.

A series of clearly defined tasks awaited the staff of National Headquarters. There was State organization to be promoted, guided and co-ordinated; direct service to be rendered to the disabled, and to returning veterans in need

of employment and assistance in the adjustment of their final affairs with the Government; legislative work to be carried on in Congress; speakers and publicity provided to spread the aims of the organization; measures of finance determined to tide over the organization until sufficient revenue should be forthcoming from dues; an official publication started to interest the veteran and assist the work of organization.

To the Legislative Committee, headed by Thomas W. Miller of Delaware and Luke Lea of Tennessee, joint chairmen, fell one of the hardest tasks of all, to obtain a charter from Congress and to initiate and forward legislation demanded by the delegates at St. Louis. Only those who are familiar with the early struggles of the Legion, the jealousy of other organizations, the skepticism of people in public and private life, the acute political situation, and the obstacles encountered within and without the organization can appreciate fully the difficulties met and overcome by the Legislative Committee.

The bill to grant the Legion a Federal charter was introduced in both houses of Congress on June 27th, 1919. In the Senate it was sponsored by Senator Josiah C. Wolcott of Delaware. Representative Royal C. Johnson of South Dakota introduced it in the House. It passed the House on August 27th and the Senate on September 5th. Eleven days later it was signed by the President.

The *American Legion Weekly*, which had been established under the editorship of George A. White, fired the opening gun in the Legion's long fight for the wounded and disabled in a series of articles revealing the incompetence and neglect of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. This investigation and disclosure of the Board's shameful mismanagement of the affairs of our afflicted comrades was the first assignment that fell to the writer of these lines after he joined the staff of the *Weekly*. On the basis of the *Weekly's* presentation of the facts the Legislative Com-

mittee brought about a Congressional investigation of the Board and initiated legislation marking the inception of the legislative battle for the disabled which constitutes one of the most glorious pages in the Legion's history.

A good deal has been said about the early financing of the Legion, and much of what has been said has been uttered in no friendly spirit. The whispered story that the Legion's way was paid by Wall Street and great business generally got an early start and traveled on the wings of the wind as scandal is apt to do, increasing in viciousness as it went along. A fairly widespread report was that Wall Street had laid aside a million dollars to set the Legion up in business, but in other quarters the sum was hiked to a really presentable figure. A radical journal published in the West finally put the Legion's "blood-subsidy" at "conservatively $10,000,000."

Another publication, and a presumably more responsible one, the *Congressional Record*, had this to say on August 15th, 1921:

> The organizers and present officers of the American Legion organized it with tainted money, for the purpose of giving the men who placed themselves in control an opportunity of misrepresenting the wishes and desires of former service men wherever such wishes and desires clashed with those of the unknown men who had furnished the money, and who are the real power behind the Legion.

This appeared through the offices of Representative Michaelson of Illinois, who obtained publication in the *Record* of a document written by an energetic young man who at that time was trying to promote a rival "Legion."

All these tales and innuendoes are false without qualification. It actually cost just $186,633.01 to finance the national organization of the American Legion up to the first National Convention. In addition to this, $178,882.31 was spent to establish and operate the *American Legion Weekly*, making a total outlay of $365,515.32. Every penny of this came ultimately from Legion members in the form of national membership dues at one dollar a head. It did

not come originally in that form, of course. That was manifestly impossible. The Legion's receipts from dues and *Weekly* advertising were $230,573.69, leaving a deficit of $134,941.63. The Legion needed money before there was any machinery for the collection of dues or many members to collect from. In June the Finance Committee, under the chairmanship of John W. Prentiss, estimated that the Executive Committee should have $250,000 at its disposal for its stupendous task of organization. It inaugurated a national loan by voluntary subscription. Subscriptions were discontinued after 213 Legionnaires residing in thirteen States had chipped in a total of $257,000. The cash was raised on notes endorsed by these Legionnaires and held by banks in widely separated parts of the country. The Legion retired these notes with six per cent. interest, borrowing from its $500,000 Y. M. C. A. trust fund to do it. The fund has been reimbursed by money received from dues.

This, briefly, is the story of the early financing of the Legion, which floated its own liberty loan and then paid it off. No mystery shrouds the identity of the endorsers of the original notes. Their names, and the amount of each note, are on file at National Headquarters in Indianapolis. The list may be had by writing to Robert H. Tyndall, the National Treasurer. It takes up too much space to be printed here. The national organization has had its periods of financial stress, due to an extent to the difficulties encountered in putting the *Weekly* on a paying basis, but in greater measure to the rectitude of its financial policy.

There were some interesting reactions to the old Wall Street yarn. When Wall Street was making it hot for Franklin D'Olier during the opening stages of the adjusted compensation fight someone wrote in to inquire if the Legion were "trying to make suckers out of big business by taking their jack and then refusing to deliver."

During the pin-feather period of the Legion's history while Mr. D'Olier was not sitting with the Committee of

Five he was directing the all-important State Organization Division of headquarters. The Organization Division worked hand in glove with the National Speakers Bureau, headed by J. F. J. Herbert, of Massachusetts, who had delivered a rather celebrated speech at St. Louis. This bureau put in action Legion orators in all sections of the country, and in September sent Theodore Roosevelt, the Reverend John W. Inzer and Mr. Herbert on a four-weeks' national speaking tour. The War Risk Insurance (now Service) Division, headed by C. F. Sheridan of New York, helped thousands of veterans in closing their books with the Government. The Publicity Division, headed by Thomas J. Ross, jr., spread the Legion's message through the press and by means of pamphlets and posters.

The Legion entered July with nearly one thousand posts. By August 1st the number had grown to 2,562. On September 1st there were 3,500 and a month later 5,670. Every State had its department organization, and post units had been formed in Alaska, Cuba, Hawaii, Panama, and Mexico. The voting strength of the Minneapolis convention was 684, based on a membership of 433,000 whose national dues had actually been received at headquarters.

The last weeks of the temporary régime were devoted to preparation for the Minneapolis convention, where the Legion was to come into formal and official existence. To this time the Legion had been concerned only with the job of organization. It claimed to be nothing more than a rallying point for those returning home from service with the fighting forces. It represented merely the desire of ex-service men and women to unite in one great body through which they might express themselves. The Paris caucus was not representative of the A. E. F. The St. Louis caucus was not thoroughly representative of the home forces. Both were remarkable gatherings; remarkable in the matter of representation, for more thorough representation under the circumstances was impossible. At Minneapolis,

for the first time American veterandom would sit in a truly representative congress and undertake the tremendous responsibility of the future of the American Legion. What would that future be? Here is the answer that Henry D. Lindsley gave a fortnight before the convention:

The future of the American Legion is the common future of five millions of men; it is the aggregate of what these men individually think and do. It is the ideal which was in the hearts of these men when they were willing to die that their country might live. It is the ideal in their hearts now as they firmly determine their country shall continue to live.

The American Legion represents concretely the determination of these five millions of men that those who would destroy the flag for which they fought shall not live under its protecting folds. It represents the further determination of these men that our country shall continue to be the land of law and order, and that the Constitution of the United States shall be supreme in its power over every man and woman who remains in this country. It, through its members, recognizes the great truth that there is but one way in which a democratic people can correct evils of government, and that this way is through orderly changes as determined best from time to time by the people themselves.

The American Legion intends that justice from government shall be extended to the men who served in the Army and the Navy in this war, and to their dependents, but that this justice must include in its consideration every other man and every other woman in the land. The American Legion stamps class-selfishness as wrong and as short-sighted as individual selfishness. Made up, as the American Legion is, of men from every class and in every walk of life, it will set its face against the supremacy of any class in our American life.

These thoughts and ideals and purposes are bound up in the future of the American Legion. Through it they will find expression and by its power concrete things will be accomplished. There is no power that can destroy the American Legion except the American Legion itself. Its usefulness cannot be diminished except through its own acts.

The American Legion has the confidence and support of the American public. The Legion appreciates this confidence and accepts this support, and enters into its broader life with full sense of the responsibilities which go with power. It will open its convention in Minneapolis with solemn purpose. It will lightly pass on no big thing. It will be ruffled by no chance wind. It knows it has a task to do and will perform it.

With faith in God and country, with faith in itself, the American Legion will march on for the years to come. Under the flag we love now as in the days of battle, the American Legion faces the future with high hope and determined purpose.

Time has revealed the remarkably prophetic nature of Mr. Lindsley's utterance. There were a great many people, inside and out of the organization, who held the highest hopes for the Legion, but who would not have cared to have been placed on record in the strong words of Lindsley. "No power can destroy the American Legion except the Legion itself." Granted. But what would the American Legion "itself" do at this convention? For the first time the real voice of the soldier and sailor was to be heard. St. Louis was merely a whisper. The splendid constitutional creed of that body was not the universal expression of all the veterans. Minneapolis could accept, amend or repudiate it.

The American veteran—what would he do? What would he say? What did he want? Why did he want it? In the American Legion the American veteran had in his hands an unmistakably great potential force. How would he choose to use it?

These were questions of moment. Matters of importance depended upon the answers, which only the convention to be held at Minneapolis could give.

PARADING AT MINNEAPOLIS, 1919

CHAPTER VI

MINNEAPOLIS: THE VOICE OF FIVE MILLION

THE AMERICAN LEGION went to Minneapolis a pair of words and came away a living force; a force represented by a new institution of service composed of men and women whose qualifications for service to their country and their comrades were their records with the Nation's fighting forces in the World War; a force aimed to express the ideals of citizenship of five million people; a force such as neither this nor any other country had ever seen.

The Legion emerged from Minneapolis more than a "veterans organization," though that in itself is a term to command respect in the United States. Precedent has made it another way of saying "public power." Though the habit of referring to the Legion as the "logical successor" of one or the other of the two great veterans associations which grew out of the Civil War may persist for years to come, the clearest description I can give of the Legion as established at Minneapolis is by contrasting it with those older organizations of famous and familiar memory which ruled the United States for thirty-five years.

Before the Legion came, the term "veterans association" meant, to a Northerner, the Grand Army of the Republic. The G. A. R. was a great public force. It was the backbone of the Republican party. With the exception of Cleveland's terms, it held the White House and dominated the national administration down to Roosevelt's time. In local politics in the Northern States it was relatively as strong.

In the South the counterpart of the G. A. R. is the United Confederate Veterans. The control of the U. C. V. was even more complete in the South than was that of the G. A. R. in the North. The South was prostrate in 1865. It had resisted to the last gasp. The U. C. V. became the

rallying group about which the crushed political and industrial life of the South revived. It was the dominating factor in the Democratic party.

The traditions of the G. A. R. and the U. C. V. had come forward to welcome the young Legion. One still hears the Legion referred to, in the appropriate section of the country, as the successor of the G. A. R. In the South it is the descendant and residuary legatee of the U. C. V. This has been very helpful. It established in the public mind a precedent of power. It had a vast sentimental value. Yet even from the inadequate perspective of the time of which I write, it was apparent to all reflective persons that the Legion could become in reality heir to the traditions of neither the G. A. R. nor the U. C. V., two organizations primarily political, intensely partisan, intensely sectional and always unalterably oppposed to one another. The surest way to have wrecked the Legion long before the Minneapolis convention would have been a tendency to follow in the footsteps of either of its worthy predecessors. The sons of Northern and Southern veterans alike saw that pitfall and stepped gingerly aside.

This Legion, then, was something novel and without precedent. It was a child of the new times, a product of the New Nationalism that had come through war and, through the Legion, had come to stay. It was non-sectional because it was national; non-partisan because it was all-partisan; non-political because all-political; non-sectarian because all-sectarian; embracing every class, every creed, every shade of political opinion, every station and condition of life. Groups and individuals hitherto deemed forever irreconcilable united at Minneapolis by bonds which only those who forged them can destroy; and the prospect of that has grown as remote as the prospect of the political secession of a part of the Federal Union.

The Minneapolis convention stands forth with genuine claims to renown in a country where history has largely

been shaped by such representative assemblies. It lacked the dashing picturesqueness of the Paris caucus, where corporals and colonels clashed in manners often more zestful than parliamentary. It was without the irrepressible exuberance of the new freedom's first flush which lent spice and piquancy to the sessions at St. Louis. A row between an ex-colonel and an ex-corporal leaves one cold. There is no thrill. The veteran had become a somewhat tamer critter since his St. Louis days. The things which gave sparkle and color to Paris and St. Louis had passed into the shadows, but the things which were required to put over the particular job which the Minneapolis situation demanded were there in abundance. These were a willingness and a capacity for work.

It was a working convention; a serious convention. It drove ahead under the spur of great and grim convictions. From the moment Chairman Lindsley's gavel rose to announce the opening session on the morning of Monday, November 10th, until that bruised and battered instrument fell for the last time on the night of November 12th the relentless pressure toward accomplishment never flagged. In tense and often tumultuous sessions on the floor; in littered conference and committee rooms, redolent with strong tobacco, where collarless men toiled the long night hours away, the work went on with a species of inspired determination; there was something fine about it.

There was a minimum of frills and furbelows, of pointless oratory, of applause and perfunctory amenities; a minimum of all the graceful exercises which comprise the more colorful side of convention life. There was, of course, appropriate diversion for the 20,000 visitors who came to town. Half of the delegates found time to parade in a blizzard on Tuesday afternoon, and then were back at the grind, missing meals, shaves and sleep until the job was done. The job was this:

Approved and confirmed the work of the temporary organization of the American Legion; adopted a Constitution, with the splendid pre-

amble written at St. Louis intact. To assure that at all times the rôle the Legion should play in the public affairs of community, State or Nation should be absolutely divorced from partisan political considerations it was written in the constitution that "no candidate or incumbent of a salaried elective public office shall hold any office in the American Legion or any department or post thereof."

Provided for the creation of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion to realize the Legion's ideals of citizenship through a continuous and constructive patriotic educational campaign throughout the land.

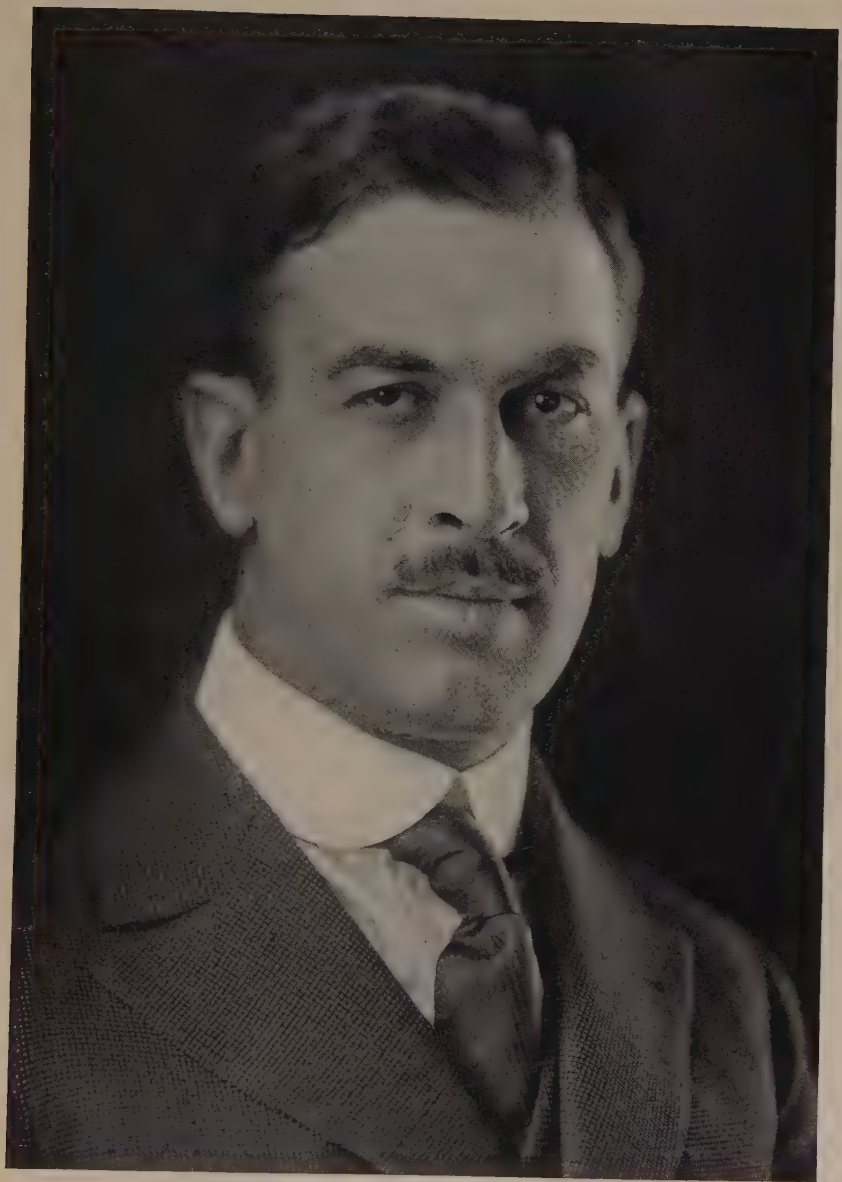
Prepared to make a thorough study of the immigration question with a view of suggesting to the Government means by which immigrants who desire to subscribe to American ideals may be properly assimilated, and those who do not desire to so subscribe, deported.

Urged that Congress pass laws providing for the deportation of all "first paper" aliens who have renounced their intention of becoming citizens; that Congress make it impossible for aliens who surrendered their first papers to evade military service ever to acquire citizenship; that Congress require aliens resident in this country to acquire a knowledge of the English language and that a course in citizenship constitute a part of the curriculum of every public school; asked the Government to cancel the citizenship of and deport Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin Congressman of German birth, convicted disloyalist and twice expelled from the House.

Recommended abrogation of the so-called "gentleman's agreement" with Japan and the exclusion of Japanese from the United States on the same principles as adopted in the case of other Oriental races; that Congress send a committee to study alien colonization conditions on the Pacific coast, in Hawaii and the Philippines; that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States be amended to deny citizenship to any child born in the United States unless both parents are so eligible. The latter recommendation would prevent children of Oriental parentage from acquiring citizenship.

Opposed compulsory military service in time of peace, but recommended universal military training with the proviso that the administration of this policy should be removed from any exclusively military caste. Advocated continuance of officers' training camps and military instruction in schools and colleges.

Characterized a large standing army as extravagant and un-American. Favored a small and expertly-trained Regular Army and a national citizen army, based on universal obligation, and organized into corps, divisions and smaller units of officers and men who come from the same locality. Declared the national citizen army should be trained, equipped, officered and assigned to definite units before rather than after the commencement of hostilities, and should be administered by a general staff on which Regular and temporary officers should serve in equal number.



ROBERT H. TYNDALL

Declared as its first concern in the matter of beneficial legislation for veterans the adequate care of the wounded and disabled and the dependents of those who gave their lives. Recommended various administrative reforms in governmental machinery dealing with the disabled. Recommended material increases in compensation to disabled and their dependents, liberalization of vocational training provisions and the retirement of disabled temporary officers on same basis as officers of Regular Army.

With a view of equalizing the economic balance between the man who went to war and the man who did not, requested Congress to enact legislation providing for loans to veterans for farm and city homes, for the development of agricultural lands. Urged reclamation of unproductive lands for settlement by veterans. While recognizing the need and justice of cash adjustment of compensation for veterans declined to name any specific sum, leaving that matter "with confidence to the Congress."

The convention hewed to the line of the preamble of the Legion constitution, which says, "we associate . . . to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States . . . to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by devotion to mutual helpfulness." The recommendations of the convention were confined to the categories embraced by these clauses.

In the interest of the Constitution's defense, the security and enlightenment of the Nation, it urged:

Adequate defensive forces maintained along lines in keeping with the traditions of our people and the lessons of the war.

That the Nation purge itself of the vicious forces of destructive radicalism, and make certain reasonable regulations concerning aliens and slackers. To those aliens who came here to enjoy the benefits of a liberal government and then refused to fight for those liberties, the Legion said, "Be on your way." With equal firmness it demanded the punishment of the native-born slacker and draft-dodger, now invoking the protection of the fireside he lacked the manhood to defend. To the well-disposed but uninformed immigrant it said, "This country belongs to those and the heirs of those who fought to bring it into being and to keep it free. You are welcome if you will come in and do your share, abiding by the laws you will in time help to make, respecting the institutions which are the genius of the American race."

Steps were taken for the dissemination of knowledge of American institutions of government and ideals of citizenship so that ignorance of these things should excuse no man.

In the interest of "mutual helpfulness" the convention made two recommendations. It urged first, that the Gov-

ernment redeem its broken promises to the disabled whose health and strength had been spent in their country's cause, and second, that when the physically disabled were cared for steps be taken to render assistance to those financially disabled by reason of their war service.

A word or two to recall the state of public mind will indicate the measure of restraint and judgment exercised by the convention. Those were the days of high passions and strong feeling. This was true of the whole country. By every rule of human nature one might expect passions to be highest and feelings strongest among those who had come closest in contact with the recent lamp of experience. The men who fought for the privilege (which finally was accorded Wisconsin) of seconding the motion demanding the deportation of Berger were men who held vivid memories of German bullet and bayonet, and German poison gas. Still ringing in their ears were the cries of our wounded, mangled anew by the bombs the Boche planes dropped on the field hospitals. While the delegates were discussing the radical menace, proof that they were not speculating with an idle theory came in dramatic fashion when the news was flashed that four Legion men had just been murdered from ambush by I. W. W. gunmen as they paraded unarmed on Armistice day through the streets of Centralia, Washington. And yet the convention kept its head.

The decisions made at Minneapolis were not unanimous decisions. Few great steps ever are. Americans are prone to over-rate that word. The Declaration of Independence was not the unanimous expression of the Continental delegates. A rule requiring unanimous decisions by its legislative body wrecked the mighty kingdom of Poland. The Minneapolis decisions, however, represented the average judgment of the average Legionnaire, and nearly all were adopted by big majorities. It is not enough to cite the enthusiastic endorsement they received from the Nation at the time. The real proof of the soundness of the Legion's

judgment is becoming apparent. The first three years to pass have witnessed the enactment into law of the principles of most of the recommendations that were made at Minneapolis.

Probably no action of the convention has been more discussed, and more inaccurately discussed, than that taken with reference to an adjustment of compensation for all veterans. The Legion does not regard "adjusted compensation" as a polite euphemism for "bonus." A bonus is a gift, a gratuity. That the ex-service man has never expected, asked or desired. By the term "adjusted compensation" is implied precisely what the dictionary says the words mean. In this case is meant a rectification in small part of the economic balance between the man who fought for his country for a dollar a day and the man, equally able to fight, who stayed at home and drew wartime wages.

The first paid lobby and publicity campaign directed against the Legion's adjusted compensation fight spent a good many thousands of dollars getting the story into circulation that the sentiment of the Minneapolis convention was overwhelmingly against such a course, and that the "sound opinion" of the "rank and file" of the Legion had been overridden by a little group of self-appointed "leaders." Another piece of light fiction was that the rank and file sentiment of the Legion was strong for adjusted compensation, but that the veterans had been double-crossed by those who represented them at Minneapolis. The resolution adopted at the convention was an ambiguous straddle, according to these contenders: a stuffed club to be wielded softly on Congress, which would neatly parry the blow.

Both stories were fables, as time has shown. It is a fact that there was considerable personal sentiment among the Minneapolis delegates against an adjustment of compensation. This was mainly true because the delegates did not need relief themselves, and had not had opportunity to investigate the reports that most veterans did need it. Most

delegates came with specific instructions on this point, however, and whether personally in favor of the principle or not, they voted the wishes of their constituents. I can recall among my personal acquaintances a dozen men who were delegates to that convention and who were opposed to compensation then but favor it now.

The question came before the convention in the report of the Committee on Legislation. Following a resolution requesting the enactment of a law providing reclaimed land for veterans and loans for building city and country homes and for improving agricultural tracts, the report declared:

> *Whereas*, the question of adjustment of compensation or extra pay for service men and women is now pending before the Congress, and before acting thereon, the Congress has shown the disposition to await the views of this Convention upon the subject; now, therefore, be it
>
> *Resolved*, that while the American Legion was not founded for the purpose of promoting legislation in its selfish interest, yet it recognizes that our Government owes an obligation to all service men and women to relieve the financial disadvantages incidental to their military service—an obligation second only to that of caring for the disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who sacrificed their lives, and one already acknowledged by our Allies—but the American Legion feels that it cannot ask for legislation in its selfish interest and leaves with confidence to the Congress the discharge of this obligation.

When Chairman Luke Lea of the Legislative Committee moved the adoption of the report, a dozen delegates were on their feet. A man from the New York section moved as an amendment addition of the words "the American Legion has implicit faith that Congress will frame proper legislation for equitable compensation based preferably on length of service." A dozen men were shouting at once by this time, but Edward L. Logan of Massachusetts obtained the floor and held it against all comers for twenty minutes. He made a fiery speech, concluding by offering an amendment to the report recommending a dollar a day extra compensation to every veteran for every day served, and resumed his seat amid the deafening applause of those who had been less com-

plimentary a few minutes before when Mr. Logan was understood to impute steam-roller tactics to the Chair.

"There is only one point on which the Committee agreed," said Mr. Lea in response to Logan's motion. "That is, that an obligation is due. But, we say, as we are interested we will not name the amount in the bond but will leave it to the legislative branch of the Government. We don't know what the future may bring forth. We don't know whether our currency will be further debased and one dollar a day will be too much or too little. There is not the slightest doubt but that Congress is going to make a great investment by enabling many a man and woman to own his own home, either in the country or in the city, and in addition to that is going to right the financial wrong that has been done and equalize their pay."

Mr. Lea was followed by Frederic W. Galbraith, jr., of Ohio, who made a forceful appeal for the convention to stipulate a sum. He suggested a dollar a day, and urged that the convention recommend that the money be paid in bonds in denomination of fifty dollars and thus the recipient would become "a partner in the United States Government."

"The forces of the United States," declared Mr. Galbraith, "were drafted into the military service. If labor had been drafted they would have been on a par. They weren't. A man was permitted to remain at home and draw wages that were beyond his highest hope and the man who fought and the man who was ready to fight was paid thirty dollars a month. If you are justified in asking for equalization of compensation, then you are justified in saying it shall not be too much, but that it shall be something."

M. L. Sosnin of Kentucky, a wounded man, said it was "not fair or right" that the disabled should receive all the consideration. He said he knew too many men who had come back sound in body but had suffered irreparable financial loss. He endorsed the Galbraith plan.

Janney, of Maryland, declared the veteran was en-

titled to compensation but that it was not proper to ask for it. "Let's not put another word in the preamble of our constitution," he said, "and say 'For *me* and God and Country.'"

McIlldowning of Pennsylvania, who had been trying to get the floor since the debate started, was recognized. "Shall we say to the American people," he demanded, "that they owe those of us who are able to go out and work with our two hands? Do they owe us a paltry dollar for every day we served in the Army or Navy? The men from Pennsylvania don't believe so."

"Let's go into the steel mills of Pennsylvania," shouted Donovan of Massachusetts, "and find out there that John Jones went into the Army and received thirty dollars a month and that John Brown stuck to his job, claimed exemption and got ninety dollars a week." The convention seemed to like the idea. There was great applause.

Roy Hoffman of Oklahoma said he couldn't be honest with the soldiers of his State if he didn't let the convention know how they felt on the question. By a unanimous vote, he said, they had decided "they didn't want the bonus."

O'Brien of Missouri prefaced his remarks by saying he had been a buck private for twenty-five months. He was against compensation himself, but the men in his post were for it, and he was representing the men in his post. He said "the boys didn't want the buck passed to Congress. They wanted the convention to act."

And so it went. Johnson of South Dakota, Gansser of Michigan and various unidentified delegates urged that the convention name a specific sum. Amid confusion a delegate whose name was not recorded moved as a substitute for all pending motions the report of the committee as read. Many delegates had lost account of the parliamentary situation. The motion was put with difficulty and was carried. Thus the convention's adjusted compensation stand became the original resolution previously quoted.

The adjusted compensation discussion was in the

morning session on the third day. The election of officers took place late in the afternoon of that day. In the morning it seemed pretty clear that the fight for National Commander lay between Franklin D'Olier, of Pennsylvania, and Edward L. Logan, of Massachusetts. An outcropping of favorite sons was in evidence, but these did not figure seriously in the calculation.

D'Olier had the backing of his colleagues in the national organization and his work as State organizer had cultivated strength for him in every part of the country. Logan was called an "insurgent." He had Massachusetts, of course, and Massachusetts led the batting order with sixty-five votes. In the Middle West he had active workers who were ready to show their appreciation of Massachusetts's support of the Indianapolis cause in the fight for National Headquarters. Scattering strength in the far West and South indicated that D'Olier's friends had their work cut out for them if they meant to win.

This was the situation a few hours before the nominating speeches began. Then Logan made his notable address on adjusted compensation in which he charged gag-rule tactics, which the convention took as a criticism of the attitude of the Chair. This was very unfortunate for Mr. Logan, for whether he knew it at that time or not, the Chairman held very liberal views on adjusted compensation, and delegates in numbers sufficient to make a loud noise were quick to resent the understood insinuation. At that moment Mr. Logan was through as a real contender for the commandership. He realized it. Directly upon the conclusion of his address he released his friends from their promises of support. Mr. Logan's name was not presented to the convention.

Arkansas led off by naming D'Olier. California yielded to New York with the understanding, in the minds of some of the Western delegates at least, that New York intended to second the Pennsylvanian's nomination; but Hamilton Fish

of Poughkeepsie arose and in a stirring speech offered Hanford MacNider of Iowa. There was prolonged cheering. Undoubtedly MacNider had been the greatest beneficiary of the collapse of the Logan boom. North Dakota nominated Jack Sullivan of Washington, but Sullivan withdrew. Lindsley was named by Texas and the delegates rose and cheered. The Chairman lifted an arm for silence and said:

"Gentlemen, I wish to repeat what I stated on the second day of the convention. I am not a receptive candidate for this exalted position; and may I make a further suggestion: The American Legion is now so much bigger than any one man in the United States that there will never be a time when it will be necessary even to think of re-electing a National Commander. I withdraw my name."

At the next National Convention at Cleveland, National Commanders and National Vice-Commanders were made constitutionally ineligible to re-election.

Virginia presented E. Lester Jones of the District of Columbia and Kentucky offered a favored son, Emmet O'Neal. There were many seconding speeches for D'Olier and MacNider. One of the latter was delivered by Logan.

The air of tension which settled over the convention as the secretary and his assistants made ready to call the roll for the first ballot was relieved by a motion by a delegate from Arizona.

"Arizona," said he, "is away off in one corner of the United States. We would like to have a chance to look these men over before we vote for them. I request they be asked to stand on the platform where we can see what they look like."

The convention laughed at this. It eased the strain. The Chair ruled the gentleman's point well taken. The nominees mounted the stage and were introduced. Then came the roll call and an ominous quiet.

Alabama opened with six votes for MacNider and the Iowan's supporters let loose a yell, but Alaska gave D'Olier

four, Arizona passed, Arkansas placed ten with D'Olier and California added 18 more with an explanation of the purpose it had in mind when it yielded to New York during the nominating speeches. Colorado countered with six for MacNider. The Iowan also got Cuba's four, but he did not score again until Indiana placed 15 and Iowa 25 to his credit. Kansas broke away and cast its 14 votes for D'Olier, bringing the Pennsylvanian's total up to 107. MacNider had 56, but his moment was yet to come.

Kentucky gave its six to O'Neal, but Louisiana and Maryland contributed an aggregate of 11 for the Middle-Westerner. Then Logan of Massachusetts rose and in tones the convention had come to know announced 64 votes for MacNider and one for D'Olier. Those who could figure in the midst of pandemonium computed that this put the Iowan in the lead, 131 to 117. He moved right along picking up three Michigan votes on a split, 36 from Minnesota, 14 from Missouri, nine from Montana and 12 from Nebraska —a total of 209, while D'Olier continued to trail with only 139—when the tide turned.

Nevada, New Hampshire and New Jersey were D'Olier's in a row—29 votes—and when North Carolina added five and Ohio gave the Pennsylvanian the big end of a 37-8 division the tally was tied. New York had passed, but it was known substantial strength awaited D'Olier there. It became certain to insiders that MacNider could not poll the necessary majority of 342 to elect on the first ballot. But could D'Olier? And what would happen on a second ballot would be speculative indeed. Already States early in the alphabetical order were discussing the prospect. How would they go? What would they do? Stand firm or switch? Clearly a few votes either way might tell the tale.

In the midst of this the roll call moved on. D'Olier gained impressively. He ran his count up to 306 while MacNider stood still, but he needed all those votes and more if he were to pass the 342 mark on the first ballot.

"Wyoming," called the secretary.

"Wyoming casts four votes for D'Olier," sung out the delegation chairman.

The alphabetical list was finished. D'Olier had 321 and MacNider 283—no majority. Arizona and New York had passed, tying up 53 votes. MacNider could get them all—which was a known impossibility—and still fall short of a majority. D'Olier needed only 21 of them. It was possible, even likely, that he would get them; but none could tell. New York was playing a deep game, they said.

Arizona was called again and cast its six votes for D'Olier, and New York, after much parley, announced 39 for the leading nominee and eight for MacNider. Thus D'Olier won by a plurality of 75 and a majority of 14, but before the vote could be announced the agile MacNider had rushed to the center of the stage and moved that the rules be suspended and the secretary instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for D'Olier. It was done.

The five Vice-Commanders were elected on the first ballot from among eighteen nominees. With the number of votes received by each, they are: Allen Tukey, of Nebraska, Army, 411; James J. O'Brien, California, Navy, 390; Joyce B. Lewis, Minnesota, Marines, 292; Alden R. Chambers, Massachusetts, Navy, 270; William B. Follett, Oregon, Army, 267. Under the constitution not more than three Vice-Commanders shall be from the Army.

Vice-Commander Lewis was brought to the convention in a wheel chair. He was crippled while endeavoring to save his brother from machine-gun fire at Belleau Wood. He was a delegate from William T. Lewis Post, at Long Prairie, Minn., which was named for his brother.

The Rev. Father Francis A. Kelley, of New York, who won the D. S. C. serving with the 27th Division, was elected National Chaplain on the second ballot, over John W. Inzer. The vote was 411 to 246.

Indianapolis won the National Headquarters by getting

into action early and waging a hard, skillful fight to the finish. The strategy of Walter Myers and Dr. T. Victor Keene of the Indiana delegation triumphed for the Hoosiers. Things started off badly for their cause when the Committee on Permanent Location voted 17 to 16 in favor of Minneapolis. Myers, who was handling the Indianapolis fight in the committee, had eighteen votes lined up, but two of his men were also serving on another committee which was meeting in a room across the hall. When they stepped out to watch the proceedings for a moment in the other room the question was brought to a vote, Minneapolis gaining its majority of one.

Indiana then carried the fight to the floor and further complications ensued. Washington came in as a formidable rival with the support of the large Eastern delegations. The entrance of Detroit and Kansas City further divided the field. On the first ballot Washington led with 282 votes, but no city had a majority. Indianapolis had 226, Minneapolis 88, Kansas City 49 and Detroit 39. A new ballot was taken between the two leaders and Indianapolis won, 361 to 323.

John Inzer sounded the keynote at St. Louis when a keynote was needed. In the closing hours at Minneapolis, the Reverend Mr. Inzer, who had served as chairman of the Resolutions Committee, epitomized the work of the convention, concluding with these words:

"As one of your national speakers this year, it has given me more pleasure to preach the gospel of the American Legion than any gospel on earth, save that of the Lord Jesus Christ."

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST OBLIGATION: THE DISABLED

WHEN the Reverend John W. Inzer spoke of the Legion's "gospel," he went about as far as a truth-telling Baptist pastor could go and keep within the record. The Legion had its gospel, and a very sufficient gospel it was; but it was *only* a gospel as yet. It remained for the Legion to make that gospel a fact.

The Legion had successively become a project, a possibility, an incident and finally a factor, a *living force* in the national life. So far, so good. But a factor and a force for what? For words or for work?

That is what the country wanted to know and it looked to Franklin D'Olier for the answer.

Hindsight is much more dependable than foresight. It is easy at this late day to look back on 1919 and remark with an air of tranquil certitude that the roughest spots in the road had been passed when the Legion emerged successfully from its first National Convention, a going concern and an accomplished fact, accepted by the veteran and the public, the feared and the fearless champion of the ideals that are finest and best in the Nation's life, and all that. It wasn't, however, quite so easy to take this self-satisfying view of the situation at the time. The job Mr. D'Olier had inherited was stupendous.

What matter if the instrument placed in his hands was new and untried, his organization hastily constructed and imperfect; what matter if, handicapped by lack of personnel, preparation or precedent, D'Olier had been ordered to take his forces into action before their training was completed? It mattered nothing.

No one was more familiar with this state of affairs than Mr. D'Olier himself. His administration was under way by swift strokes.

Lemuel Bolles of Seattle, a Legion worker since Paris caucus days, and who acted as assistant secretary of the Minneapolis convention, was named National Adjutant. Under his direction National Headquarters were transferred from New York to Indianapolis and reorganized for the new work that lay before it. George H. Rennick of New York, who had volunteered his services to the organization under Chairman Lindsley, consented to "take on" for another year as Assistant National Adjutant. Robert H. Tyndall, an Indianapolis banker, was appointed National Treasurer and Russell G. Creviston took over the work of department and post organization which Mr. D'Olier had carried on before his elevation to the highest office in the Legion. Creviston is an Indianian who during a temporary sojourn as a resident of Minneapolis helped organize the Legion in that State and headed the Gopher delegation at the convention. C. F. Sheridan continued as head of the Service Division, which greatly extended its field, but he presently resigned and was succeeded by Gerald J. Murphy, of Vermont.

No major political party ever evolved a more pretentious legislative program than that promulgated by the first convention of the Legion. Hence the need at Washington for a Legislative Committee, functioning as an essential cog in the national machinery to make veterans' voices heard and heeded in the council chambers of the Nation where the laws are made, in the executive offices where they are enforced and in the hundreds of department bureaus, great and small, from which the actual administration is directed. Thomas W. Miller was placed in charge of the Legion's national legislative efforts, with John Thomas Taylor of Washington, D. C., as vice-chairman. Mr. Taylor succeeded to the chairmanship on the resignation of Mr. Miller near the end of Mr. D'Olier's term.

Arthur Woods of New York, the famous police commissioner of Mayor Mitchel's régime, was chosen to formu-

late and carry out a program for the National Americanism Commission, the creation of which was ordered by the convention. Various other committees to consider particular phases and aspects of the Legion's program were named and set to work.

Before any of the foregoing bodies had reported, and before most of them had convened or organized, urgent problems were pressing for the National Commander's decision. Chief among them were issues evolving from the varying and often conflicting interpretations of local posts on questions of "law and order," arising frequently out of disturbances due to strikes and industrial disputes; an ever-growing demand for a more explicit definition of the Legion's attitude toward the principle of adjusted compensation than was contained in the convention resolution; and the continued neglect and incompetence of government agencies dealing with the disabled.

The adjusted compensation, the law and order and the union labor issues were acute. They actually threatened the existence of the Legion. Already the false cry was abroad that the Legion, "financed by Wall Street," was a traitor to its trust; that the Legion was conspiring to betray the men and women whose interests it was pledged to champion by abetting those who would see a Government which had dealt softly with slacker and profiteer, shirk its just obligation and evade payment of its honest debt to those who had risked their lives in their country's defense. Already the radical clique "boring from within" the labor unions had declared war on the Legion and were feverishly engaged in trying to poison the minds of veterans in the ranks of labor with the story that the Legion was "a minion of capitalism," a strike-breaking, "scab"-promoting machine in disguise, bent on crushing organized labor and reducing the wages of workers.

These tales were spreading and growing as they spread. It was no light matter. Frantic letters and telegrams began

pouring in on headquarters from thoroughly alarmed Legionnaires. Mr. D'Olier scanned the situation and decided to strike first for the disabled.

The National Adjutant sent out a call for a meeting of department commanders for December 15th at Washington, to make an exhaustive examination and report on the operation of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the two principal Federal agencies handling the affairs of the disabled. Here was to be the Legion's first real test of strength with the legislative and administrative powers of the Government. The Legion had been an unsparing critic of the Vocational Board and the Bureau. The writer was the author of most of this criticism, which appeared in the *Weekly*. To give a general impression of the situation I will quote the opening sentences of the *Weekly's* first account.

> The report is current about Washington that the premises of the Federal Board for Vocational Education are due for an official house-cleaning and some eminent heads are going to fall. The *American Legion Weekly* does not know when this will occur, or that it will actually occur at all. It only knows that such a thing ought to occur, and without very much delay.
>
> The history of this organization which, with millions at its disposal, has been charged with the task of rehabilitating disabled soldiers and by re-education enabling them to resume self-supporting stations in society, is a black record of broken promise and betrayal of trust. The men who gave most have received least from a grateful Nation. Certainly, no one should appreciate better than the men who served that the hearts of the people are right, but the penniless and jobless cripple who cashed in the vigor of his manhood on the fighting front, sometimes may find it difficult to differentiate between the sentiment of that people and the crass and inexcusable incompetence of its public servants. . . .
>
> In consequence, thousands of wounded men are abroad, some of them in every community in the land, abandoned by the Government they served. They stand on the threshold of a cheerless future, often the prey of actual want, always of bitter reflections, of promises unredeemed and hopes deferred.

The two paragraphs last quoted are an unexaggerated statement of a condition which was disgraceful almost beyond belief. The first paragraph is quoted to cite the power

of the press in fighting a righteous cause. There was no "report," so far as I have ever heard, of "an official house-cleaning" within the Board until the *Weekly* started it. It was a piece of journalistic audacity that worked. Our exposé started a Congressional investigation and the "eminent heads" fell.

The *Weekly* then turned its guns on the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, concerning which I wrote:

> The case is not analogous to that of the Vocational Board, which had six months to prepare for a task that was simplicity itself as compared with the insurance job, and then failed so utterly. Before the Bureau actually was created its task had overwhelmed it.

In October of 1917 the War Risk Insurance Act, a legislator's dream, became a law and three weeks later the Bureau of War Risk Insurance went into existence, shouldering without organization or preparation a job that staggers the imagination. Work descended on the Bureau like an avalanche. Twenty clerks toiled amid this paper cloud-burst in one room in the basement of the National Museum. Piles of papers reached the ceiling. Records were impossible.

When the Legion met to help untangle the situation fifteen thousand employees, working in night and day shifts, filling an eleven story building and overflowing into two others, were on the job to make some head or tail out of the mess which resulted when twenty men undertook a task to which a thousand should have been assigned.

The Bureau had experienced a growth that would have taxed the most elastic and efficiently organized business organization in the world. In less than one year this bureau had come to embrace four of the largest businesses of their kind on earth.

> To protect the men of our war-time merchant marine it developed a marine and seaman's insurance company, doing a total business of $2,389,541,500, with premiums collected amounting to $46,848,300, policies issued to 33,365 individuals; claims paid $23,970,200.
>
> To handle soldiers' and sailors' allotments and allowances it de-

veloped a banking organization which took care of 4,391,356 clients, disbursing $508,000,000.

To pay compensation to disabled veterans and the dependents of those who died called for an employers' liability concern, which at that time was paying claims to the extent of $1,652,200 a month and which had paid burial expenses totaling $1,545,200.

To protect our soldiers and sailors it established a life insurance company which wrote 4,539,028 policies, representing a total of insurance of $39,669,198,000.

To these proportions leaped the institution which started on a shoe-string in a basement two years before. It started without organization or adequate provisions therefor, at the beginning of a war in which it was only a small side-issue, and while the vision of the country was focused on the more vital concern of our national life or death.

The result was chaos. The faith of the veterans in the Bureau had been destroyed. Of the 4,539,048 men who took out insurance during the war 3,948,000 or about 87 per cent. had permitted their policies to lapse, thus forfeiting all they had paid in in premiums.

In tens of thousands of cases the Bureau had failed to pay allotments and allowances made by soldiers in the field and sailors with the fleet, and the men's families suffered and blamed the Government in consequence. There was no redress. A letter to the Bureau seldom did any good. I have heard that at one time there were 1,000,000 unanswered letters in the Bureau's files. That may be stretching it a bit, or considerably, but in mid-October of 1919 there were 300,000 such letters and, when the Legion conference was called, more than 150,000.

The strongest indictment the Legion had brought against the Bureau lay in the distress its delinquency had brought to the wounded because of sluggish action on disability claims. In December of 1919 more than 10,000 such men had been waiting for their awards for more than six months, hundreds becoming pitiable objects of charity.

Such was the state of affairs in the Federal Board for

Vocational Education and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance when the Legion assembled its chiefs to devise ways and means of remedying the situation. It is interesting to note the attitude of the Board and the Bureau toward the Legion's action.

The Board, with infinitely the worst record and the least excuse for it, behaved with very bad grace. When the *Weekly* disclosed to an astonished public the conditions in the Board, the latter entered a general denial and began a bitter campaign of recrimination, an amusing phase of which was a denunciation of me. My name was declared to be the alias of a truth-careless sensationalist the Legion had hired to do its dirty work.

The War Risk Bureau presented a refreshing contrast. The calling of the Legion conference in Washington was first suggested by R. G. Cholmeley-Jones, director of the Bureau, who told Mr. D'Olier he wanted a chance to work with the Legion to help his Bureau out of the hole. He admitted nearly everything we said, denied nothing and called for assistance. Several of his official associates argued against his invitation to the conference to meet in the War Risk offices. "Don't do it," one man told me he urged Jones; "the Legion has been too critical. It will pick you to pieces." But Jones saw it differently. He saw in the Legion a powerful, earnest organization sincere in its desire to help the disabled. He said he was willing to take a chance on its picking him to pieces. It was a sportsman-like and foresighted thing to do.*

* Mr. Cholmeley-Jones died in a New York hospital on February 21, 1922, after an illness of three months brought on by a complete breakdown due to his labors for the disabled. Mr. Cholmeley-Jones served with the War Risk Section of the A. E. F., and at great personal sacrifice consented to continue service with the Bureau in Washington after his discharge from the service, as colonel, in January, 1919. In May he was made director and continued his labors to straighten out the chaotic affairs of the Bureau. He spent twelve and fifteen hours a day at his desk and refused to accept the advice of physicians and friends who urged him to conserve his strength. He co-operated courageously with the Legion, and was one of Mr. Galbraith's most helpful advisers in the framing and enactment of the legislation which resulted in the creation of the Veterans Bureau. Early in 1921 his health became seriously impaired. In the last weeks of Mr. Wilson's administration he was persuaded to resign but continued, unofficially, to devote his full time to working out the details of the new Bureau, and finally, at the request of Mr. Harding, resumed for a time his official capacity in order to supervise the work of transition from the old to the new régime.

The conference was a conspicuous success. It demonstrated several things which up to this time had been rather speculative. It proved Cholmeley-Jones right; the Legion was fair and tolerant, earnest and sincere in its desire to better the disabled—a constructive rather than a destructive critic. It proved the Legion capable of organizing for a careful study of a broad and difficult problem, of transmitting the proper recommendations to Congress and seeing them enacted into legislation. The conference made many recommendations for the extension and enlargement of benefits to disabled men, and the simplification and improvement of the Federal machinery in order to carry these benefits out with the least delay. These recommendations were clear and explicit. In the course of the year most of them were carried out, and the disabled situation measurably improved. The findings of this conference were a direct forerunner to the legislative triumph achieved a year and a half later by Mr. Galbraith which resulted in the creation of the United States Veterans Bureau. As commander of the Ohio department Mr. Galbraith took prominent part in the December meeting.

By the end of the first day it was clear that the immediate need of the disabled was the passage of an act known as the Sweet bill, increasing disability allowances and providing for badly needed administrative reforms, which then lay inactive before a committee of the Senate. When the Legionnaires assembled the fate of the Sweet bill was in doubt. Its author, Representative Burton E. Sweet, of Iowa, did not expect it to pass for many weeks. The end of the first day's sessions found the Nation's lawmakers disinterested and apathetic. There was the League of Nations controversy, the bill providing for the return of the railroads to private ownership, and various matters. Ex-service men's legislation they "deeply regretted" would have to wait a while.

Next day, the conferees having more definitely in mind

what was needed in the way of legislation, carried their fight to the Capitol. The conference declared a recess and the conferees adjourned to the Hill to call individually on their Congressmen and Senators and talk Sweet bill. That night the Legion drove home its point with a force not seen in our National legislative halls in many a day.

The leading members of both houses of Congress gave a dinner to the Legion delegates in the restaurant in the basement of the House wing of the Capitol. H. H. Raegge, of Texas, a member of the Legislative Committee who left a leg in the Argonne, took a street-car out to Walter Reed hospital and brought back a half-dozen wounded soldiers and attached them to the Legion party. After Senator Reed Smoot, Uncle Joe Cannon and other statesmen had regaled the Legionnaires with some very choice oratory which was entertaining but dodged the issue with reference to the immediate passage of the Sweet bill, Chairman Miller of the Legislative Committee introduced the Legion's guests, the disabled men.

"These men are only twenty minutes away from your Capitol, Mr. Chairman (Senator Watson, of Indiana), and twenty minutes away from your offices, Mr. Cholmeley-Jones. Every man has suffered—actually suffered—not only from his wounds, but in his spirit, which is a condition this great Nation's Government ought to change."

Then an infantry corporal stood on the only leg he had and told how the morale of 1,600 wounded men at Walter Reed hospital "is lower than the morale of the German army ever was even when we had them on the run." A private with his head in bandages, and six or eight months of hospitalization yet to go, told of his struggles to support a wife on his allowance of $6.50 a month. A tank corps sergeant, a cripple for life, who had left high school to enlist at the age of sixteen, recited the abuses of the Vocational Board. With this sort of evidence the Legion bombarded their congressional hosts for three hours.

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LEMUEL BOLLES

A veteran Representative who sat next to me covertly dashed a tear from his eye and tried to pass a wounded soldier a ten-dollar bill under the table. The soldier, a private with a family to keep, declined the gift.

Within forty-eight hours the Sweet bill, increasing the monthly compensation of the disabled from $30 to $80 a month, passed the Senate under a suspension of rules and without a roll call, the first time anything of the kind had occurred since the Civil War. Later the Legion obtained the passage of legislation raising the pay of veterans taking vocational training from $80 to $100 a month, obtained an appropriation of $125,000,000 for the payment of death and disability claims, and another of $46,000,000 for new hospital facilities.

In the spring of 1920 the recalcitrant Vocational Board came into line. With their affairs in a more hopeless tangle than ever the Board appealed to the Legion to help it out. Mr. D'Olier asked National Adjutant Bolles, Gerald J. Murphy, director of the Service Division at headquarters, and the writer to make a study of the situation and submit recommendations. Murphy, who had a remarkable grasp of the subject, did most of the work. This committee submitted a plan for the decentralization of the Board and for co-operation in the field with the Legion. The Board accepted the plan and put it into effect with energy and intelligence. The situation improved at once.

The welfare of the disabled required continuous effort throughout the year. Vast improvements were made, but the underlying evils persisted until the conclusion of Mr. Galbraith's memorable offensive a year later.

CHAPTER VIII

BOLSHEVISM: THE CENTRALIA MASSACRE

THE AMERICAN LEGION had its inception, first in the A. E. F. and then at home, amid troubled times. The world quivered from the effect of energies running riot before they could be diverted into sane courses.

The first after-the-war dislocations were essentially political and destructive in character and had their inspiration in the terrible Russian revolution. In the remaking of the world the opposing forces of constructive economics and destructive politics sprang into instant conflict. With their year head start in Russia the forces of destruction were able to deal the first blow and carry the battle to their adversary for a long time. Delirious with their sudden power, the bolsheviki proclaimed the "world revolution" and set out to make it a fact. The Red tide made startling advances before it began to recede. Austria was permeated and Hungary fell under its sway. The Balkans tottered. Germany wavered. Italy trembled on the brink. Old England was shaken. Victorious Red armies carried the revolution on their bayonets from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. They marched east again and battered the gates of Warsaw, where only Weygand, chief of staff to Foch, saved Poland from annihilation.

In the United States voices were raised and forces asserted themselves which had been stilled by the stress and vigilance of the great national effort. Soviet agents appeared mysteriously from the depths of Russia. Native agitators flocked to sit at the feet of these wise men and learn the miracle methods of Russian revolution-making. The rank and file of the radical groups swung in line. Backed by money and brains, plans and organization, the project of the revolution in America was launched.

It was calculated that the movement should draw its

numerical strength from two sources—from the ranks of the newly discharged soldiers and from the ranks of labor. Both groups were skillfully and effectively approached. Some elements of labor became extensively permeated, and some elements of ex-service men no less so. In 1919 and for a while in 1920 the country was full of ex-service groups of radical propensities. One of these societies achieved something like a national organization, claiming (probably with great exaggeration) 500,000 regular members before it began to crumble. This organization is no longer a factor for anything; it is little more than a name. Its contemporaries are all gone.

By creating a wholesome diversion for the restless energies of a million men and by its determined stand for law and order, the Legion was able to cut a great deal of ground from under the feet of the proponents of revolution. There was naturally a good deal of resentment against the Legion on the part of the radical conspirators who saw their efforts thus confounded. Agitators spurred their followers on with violent philippics against the Legion.

I met a radical in New York about this time who assured me the ascendancy of the Legion would soon pass; that the mass of ex-soldiers and sailors would see the light and, flocking to the Red standard, put the revolution across in fine shape. He was as positive of this as anyone could be. This man was a quiet, scholarly young Russian, a revolutionist of the intellectual or tea-room type, whose forte was writing incendiary literature designed to stir others to the bomb-throwing pitch, but whose own timid nature would have shrunk from such intemperate exercise. What he told me was said without heat or emotion, but simply as a statement of what he was convinced to be a fact. He had selected the mansion on Fifth avenue that he and his wife would occupy when the proletariat should rise and conquer. It was unfortunate, he said, that the Legion in its blindness should seek

to oppose the designs of "the masses." It meant more bloodshed than otherwise would be required.

And so the Legion became the special anathema of the Reds. Incited by the inflammatory preachments of expert agitators, the credulous followers of the radical phantom were lured on and on in their "war against capitalism and the American Legion," in which they were promised they had "nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain," until on Armistice day, 1919, while the eyes of the Nation were turned on the first National Convention of the Legion at Minneapolis, the first blow was struck and the first blood shed at Centralia, Washington. It was also the last blow and the last blood. It was the Red Waterloo. A marching column of unarmed veterans was fired on from ambush by radical gunmen and four American Legion men whom death had spared in war were murdered by their countrymen. Members of the local Legion post pursued and captured the assassins, delivered them over to the constituted authorities and defended the jail in the face of a mob of infuriated citizens. This conduct challenged the admiration of the world. It made the Legion sure of itself.

The mainstay of the radical movement in the Pacific Northwest was an outlaw labor organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World, which developed strength several years before the war among seasonal workers in the lumber camps. The doctrines of the I. W. W. are essentially communistic. Their methods are those of terror. Their rallying cry is "One Big Union" of all workers, by which device they aim to "take possession of the earth." In the preamble of their constitution occurs this language:

> The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production.

In the Russian revolution the I. W. W. saw the triumph of the ideals they had long cherished. When Lenin pro-

claimed his "world revolution" the I. W. W. stepped forward to do its bit for the cause in the United States. The dawn of their day was at hand, they said. "Where the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. shall sit, there shall be the Nation's capitol," announced a Red pamphleteer who had fallen under the soviet spell. "The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us," declared another. "As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought at the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use."

The I. W. W. was a consistent and dangerous internal enemy during the war. In the summer of 1917, when the Government was starting to mobilize industrial forces in the Northwest for the production of spruce lumber for airplanes, a strike was declared which paralyzed lumber commerce in that section. The I. W. W. entered the controversy with pernicious activity. It spiked logs, blew up engines, put emery in the bearings of machinery, burned forests and incited disloyalty. Lumber operators were powerless.

A loyal organization of workers was formed to combat the disloyal one. The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen had 125,000 members a few months after it was organized. Its members were both employers and employees. It offered means of friendly contact between employers and workers and a way to amicable discussion and solution of problems. This Legion emphasized the patriotic features of its purpose. Each member took a pledge to serve the Government. Each member wore a badge as a token of that service. The head of the order was Brigadier-General Brice P. Disque, in charge of Army spruce operations in the Northwest. Within a few months this Legion without violence had put a stop to the I. W. W. depredations.

The organization dissolved after the Armistice, but memory of it lingered in the minds of the I. W. W. It had

made the word "Legion" one to be reckoned with. When another Legion, the American Legion, came along it inherited much of the hatred that had been held against its predecessor of similar name.

Centralia is a town of ten thousand people situated in the center of the rich timber district which was the stronghold of the I. W. W. Until the fall of 1919 Centralia had been spared any trouble with radicals. It had witnessed none of the depredations of the I. W. W. or the novel and western ways on occasions adopted by a community to rid itself of the presence of this lawless element. In the summer after the war, the first I. W. W. "organizer" appeared in Centralia. He was conducted to the outskirts of town and told not to come back any more. He didn't come back—alone.

Two months before Armistice day a body of "Wobblies," as they call them out there, dropped from a passing freight train, rented a building on the tag end of Tower avenue, the principal street of Centralia, and established the headquarters of a local branch of their organization with something of a flourish. Red flags and "One Big Union" posters appeared all over the place, and the characteristic little stickers announcing the revolutionary aims of the organization began to embellish vacant walls in other parts of the city. A mass meeting of citizens was held at the Elks club to talk the matter over. City Attorney Huber Grimm suggested lawful means of ridding the town of the undesirables and his judgment was accepted. Things were left in the hands of the city attorney, but he was taken ill a few days later and nothing was done.

On November 6th Grant Hodge Post of the Legion met in Centralia and elected as its Commander Warren O. Grimm, a young lawyer, a brother of the city attorney and a veteran of the Siberian expedition. Final plans were made for the post's participation in the parade which was to be a feature of the joint celebration of the first anniversary of Armistice day arranged by the citizens of Centralia and Chehalis, a

town four miles away. The subject of the I. W. W. was not mentioned at the meeting.

The parade started at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the eleventh. It was headed by civic and fraternal societies of the two towns. The Legionnaires of Chehalis and Centralia and Red Cross nurses, in the order named, were the last elements in the column. The line of march carried them north along Tower avenue, which is a very wide street. The I. W. W. hall was on the west side of the avenue. When the procession passed the hall marching on the east side of the street the building seemed tenantless. Every window was closed. There was not a sound to be heard or a soul to be seen. The parade went on for a block, crossed to the west side of the street and marched south. The Centralia veterans were about one hundred feet beyond the hall and the nurses were directly in front of it when a momentary halt in the parade was called. Post Commander Grimm took advantage of the halt to rectify his alignment.

"Close up, men," he said quietly. The marchers closed up and right-dressed into position. Grimm faced his platoon with his back to the line of march. His men were marking time when the column moved on.

"Forward, march!" commanded Grimm.

Before the men could step off a shot was fired from the I. W. W. hall in their rear. An instant later two more shots came from the same place. The men started to break ranks. Some sought cover and others, discovering the origin of the shot, started in the direction of the I. W. W. headquarters. Before they reached the hall the street rattled with a fusillade trained on the Legionnaires from four directions —from the hall, from a cheap hotel across the street and farther to the rear, from a rooming house in front of the column and from a position on Seminary Hill a quarter of a mile east where the I. W. W. had stationed three sharpshooters armed with high-power rifles. Grimm and several others fell. Veterans rushed the I. W. W. hall, and army nurses, who had been in

the line of fire from the first, attended the wounded while the air whistled lead.

Though not a man in the parade was armed, even with a stick, Legionnaires quickly surrounded the Red stronghold, cutting off escape in the rear while the front door was broken in. The firing continued until the door was forced. With one exception the six gunmen in the hall surrendered and permitted themselves to be disarmed. The exception was Wesley Everest, a desperate character. He bolted through the back door and eluded the guarding cordon, firing as he ran. Over fences and around buildings he went, with a posse of Legionnaires in close pursuit. The only weapon among the pursuers was a revolver Alva Coleman had obtained after the chase began from a house along the line of Everest's flight. When Coleman went down with a bullet in the leg he passed the gun to Ernest Dale Hubbard.

The fugitive reached the Skookumchuck river a mile from town and plunged in. The water was beyond his depth and he returned to the bank. As he emerged from a fringe of wood by the river Hubbard sprang from behind a stump and commanded him to throw up his hands. Everest fired and Hubbard fell. Everest emptied his gun into Hubbard's prostrate body; and so perished a brave man. Everest paid a heavy price for this insane act of vengeance. Before he could reload, Dale Hubbard's companions overpowered the fugitive, marched him to the county jail and locked him in a cell.

Warren Grimm died an hour after he had fallen at the head of his men. Arthur McElfresh was dead from a rifle bullet from Seminary hill when a nurse reached him. Ben Cassagranda was mortally wounded while taking cover. Four others were hit. Probably one hundred and fifty shots had been fired by the Reds.

By nightfall nine men who had fired from the hall and other buildings were in jail. Legion posses helped to take

Warren O. Grimm

Ernest Dale Hubbard

Ben Cassagranda

Arthur McElfresh

THE MARTYRS OF CENTRALIA

three others later and two were never captured. The streets were thronged when the shooting occurred and the jail was soon surrounded by mobs of incensed citizens flourishing weapons and demanding that the authorities turn over the prisoners. At sundown the situation was critical and the sheriff and his deputies had almost despaired of saving their charges from summary justice, when the men of Grant Hodge Post undertook to disperse the mob. With four of their comrades dead and four others wounded these men, conspicuous in their uniforms, risked their lives to protect, in the name of the law, the men who had murdered their buddies. Legionnaires were knocked down and beaten in their battle with the mob. It was a night Centralia will never forget, but when dawn came and passions had cooled every prisoner was safe with the sole exception of the slayer of Dale Hubbard. In Everest's abduction the mob outwitted Legionnaires. They seized the municipal electric plant and every light in town went out. When they flashed on a few minutes later the jail had been raided by concerted attack and Everest was gone. In the morning his body was found swinging from a bridge over the Skookumchuck river.

The unlawful execution was a terrible thing. It was doubly shocking in view of the Legion's gallant fight to avert it. The episode of Centralia stands, however, without parallel in our recent history as a remarkable defense of the principle of law and order, against tremendous odds and in the face of the strongest imaginable provocation. Mr. D'Olier, speaking at a memorial service at Centralia nine months later, called it "the shrine of the American Legion." The Washington department of the Legion is sponsoring a project by which the whole organization may participate in the erection of a memorial commemorating the worthy page Grant Hodge Post has written in Legion history.

Honor to brave men—in this cause or that. Honor to the men of Centralia, Washington. Brave men in a brave cause.

CHAPTER IX

FOR LAW AND ORDER

THE events at Centralia marked the first and last violent effort to implicate the American Legion and ex-service men generally in the "social revolution." It marked the high tide of radical effort. It did not, however, mark the end of attempts to involve the Legion or its potential membership in the more orderly but no less bitter struggle for industrial justice (as each side saw it) in which class was arrayed against class.

Certain elements of the forces of labor and certain elements of the forces of capital alike attempted to win an ally in the Legion. Failing in this they regarded the wrecking of the organization by division of its membership along class lines as a mere incident in the larger contest. Fortunately all such designs failed entirely. Saving a few isolated local instances, which were repudiated and condemned by the national organization, the Legion held an impartial middle course. It was a difficult achievement, for those were stirring times. Feelings were strong and tempers were short. But the Legion held to the neutral ground, and rendered the public very material services, to the end that it stands today respected and commended by the highest spokesmen of both labor and capital.

Attempts to involve the Legion in industrial controversies during the first year of its existence were numerous, and took place in nearly every part of the country. A review of the circumstances surrounding the most notable examples will suffice for a picture of the general situation. In three instances the participation of ex-service men in strikes attracted national attention. These were in Kansas during the national coal miners' walkout, in New York during the longshoremen's strike, and in Denver during a death-attended strike of street railway workers.

On the opening of the national strike of coal miners on November 1st, 1919, the situation in Kansas came into the limelight and may be regarded as fairly typical of Western conditions in general. Kansas is an upland prairie State with few natural fuel resources save the soft coal deposits in the Southeastern section. The Kansas winters are severe and the State depends very largely on the weekly output of these mines within its borders to carry it through the winter season. These mining fields are completely unionized.

The national strike of the miners of soft coal was called at a time when it appeared to be the climax of the great movement toward industrial revolution that had been unsettling the country since the close of the World War. Public sentiment was aroused at once by the immediate prospect of the cutting off of all fuel supplies and a resultant breakdown in transportation in the dead of winter. In Kansas this sentiment swiftly crystallized into action.

Governor Capper announced early in the game that the State would take over the coal mines if necessary to keep the population supplied with fuel. The national walkout began at midnight of November 1st. By November 10th the efforts of the Governor to effect an agreement between the miners and operators in the State had broken down. A week later the shortage was becoming serious and schools were closing all over the State. On November 18th the State took over all coal mines by an order of the State supreme court placing them under a receivership.

The Governor issued a call for citizen volunteers to man the mines and get out coal enough for the weekly needs of the State. Offers came in from all over the State.

The Frontenac Post of the American Legion, located in Pittsburgh, the heart of the Kansas coal fields, issued a statement on November 23d in response to offers made public on the part of several Legion posts from the farming districts of the State to help in getting out coal. "It is plain," the statement ran, "that these men know little or nothing of the

true state of affairs in this section. No bolshevism prevails here and the miners here are 100 per cent. American."

On November 28th, however, Thomas Hopkins Post of the Legion, located in Wichita in the prairie section of the State where the shortage of fuel was most keenly felt, reported to the Governor that it had two hundred men signed up to work in the mines, including five owners of steam shovels, a great facility in strip mining.

After the personal intervention of President Wilson the strike order was rescinded December 10th. Much debate came up among the Kansas miners as to resuming work. Meanwhile the State operation of the mines progressed, Legionnaires, students of the State university and men of all classes and conditions taking part. By December 15th all volunteers were out of the pits, however, and the miners had generally resumed work.

As a result of unauthorized participation by various community posts throughout the country in this national economic crisis, the following memorandum to all posts was issued from National Headquarters by Mr. D'Olier on December 22d:

> Neither National, State nor local organizations of the American Legion have any right to take the law into their own hands or interfere with proper authority. . . . The American Legion represents nearly 5,000,000 citizens who have demonstrated their loyalty and patriotism. We realize, however, that there are 100,000,000 other Americans just as patriotic and loyal. Our effectiveness against the enemy was in proportion to the strength of the country back of us.
>
> And now we must realize that the strength of the Legion and our influence and service to the Nation will be measured only by our ability to co-operate effectively with the 100,000,000 other loyal and patriotic American citizens in the promotion of 100 per cent. Americanism and the maintenance of law and order. We know that there is only one way to maintain law and order, and that one and only way is through the orderly process of government and its duly constituted agencies.
>
> In times of need and emergency, we members of the American Legion stand ready as individuals to support, strengthen and speed up, if necessary, the civil authorities charged with the maintenance of law and order. . . . But always in accordance with competent authority, which we realize now is civilian and not military, and originates in the

Constitution of the United States as expressed through national, state and local governments.

A little later Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, in response to an inquiry from an official of his organization wrote that official:

"I can see no good reason why a member of organized labor should not also be a member of the American Legion."

Commenting on this statement Mr. D'Olier said:

"Mr. Gompers is known for his fearlessness and his devotion to his organization. If he believed there was anything in the policies or practices of the Legion inimical to the cause of labor he would say so. If I believed there was anything in the policies or practices of union labor, as an organization, inimical to the ideals for which the Legion stands I would say so."

Such utterances proved rather confounding to those within the ranks of labor, the ranks of capital and the ranks of ex-service men, who from selfish interest or a mistaken sense of duty sought to embroil the Legion in the industrial ferment.

In April of 1920 the longshoremen's strike began and spread the length of the Atlantic coast. Transportation unions took sympathetic action and their members refused to move goods left standing by the striking dockmen. The wares involved included much perishable food shipped by the South for consumption in the North. Thus two great sections of the country were vitally concerned. Shippers and consignees took active steps to employ strike-breakers.

The decisive contest was being waged in the great New York harbor. On May 1st the Central Federated Union of Greater New York, the largest local union council in the world, declared the American Legion had furnished strike-breakers in the longshoreman dispute and requested all union men within the federation's jurisdiction who were Legion members to immediately quit the organization. This action if carried out would have taken thousands of union men

from the Legion in New York City and would have had a national effect. H. W. Buxton, chairman of the New York county committee of the Legion, in reply to this drastic recommendation, declared no authorized group or body of the Legion had taken any action in connection with the strike, and that if Legion members were to be found among strike-breakers they were acting as individuals, in no way involving the organization. Negotiations were begun to prove this to the labor leaders.

The incident might have ended there had it not been for two occurrences, one an unfortunate coincidence, the other one a designed endeavor to create in the public mind the impression that ex-service men (by implication the Legion) were supporting the employers in an organized manner.

On May 7th it was announced that under the direction of Lorillard Spencer, an active Legion member and man of wealth, the New York organization had commenced to list by trades its entire membership. Strikers immediately construed this to mean that the Legion was preparing to take the field in opposition to a general strike should it be called to help the longshoremen and teamsters. Mr. Spencer pointed out that this enrollment had been determined upon long before the strike and had nothing to do with it; that it was a part of the Legion's policy of preparedness in case of an emergency precipitated by a general radical uprising which the Reds were then contemplating in order to paralyze industry. This explanation was not altogether convincing to the strikers, whose suspicions were at fever heat.

On the heels of this came the startling announcement by a large trucking corporation whose regular drivers were on strike that it was operating its carriers with "drivers who are ex-members of the 165th Infantry" and that representatives of the American Legion had assisted the committee in planning its operations. This deliberate attempt to broadcast the impression that the Legion had thrown its weight against the strikers was devised by a clever publicity

man, employed by the trucking company to swing public opinion in favor of the employers. As a piece of strike news this announcement was well-considered. Flaming headlines in the newspapers of May 20th announced "Legion Fighting Strike, Employers Claim." The strikers' blood leaped to fighting pitch. Notice was formally served on Legion officials that unless the Legion kept its hands off unpleasantness would ensue. Up to this time the strike had been singularly devoid of violence for a controversy so bitter.

Wade H. Hayes, State Commander of the Legion, cleared the air somewhat with a pointed statement denying "without equivocation that the American Legion in either state or county organization is in any way involved in this controversy." He admitted that ex-service men and probably Legion members had accepted jobs with the trucking company, but denied that the Legion was any more responsible for this than "the Elks lodge, the Republican party, the Methodist church or any other organization of which these men may be members." It was pointed out that Legion men also were among the strikers. The county council repeated this declaration and the *American Legion Weekly*, speaking for the national organization, affirmed the Legion's neutrality.

Mr. Hayes began a series of conferences with the labor leaders. Mr. D'Olier watched the outcome, the controversy having assumed national proportions. The matter was sifted to the bottom. On June 17th everything was settled and John F. Riley, president of the New York Council of the International Longshoremen's Association, wrote Mr. Hayes:

> I thoroughly believe your proof that the Legion has not recruited men to act as strikebreakers, and I shall be glad to tell the men that the Legion has proved its neutrality in this affair.

The longshoremen withdrew the request they had made to President Gompers of the A. F. of L. to outlaw and condemn the Legion. The Central Federation likewise re-

scinded its recommendation that members withdraw from the Legion, and publicly urged union men who had joined the Legion to retain their membership and those who had not joined to do so!

The Denver street railway strike and riots occurred in August of 1919. Seven persons were killed, more than fifty injured and thousands of dollars' worth of property destroyed. When local officials became unable to cope with the situation the Governor of Colorado called upon the American Legion to help them maintain order and safeguard life. Five hundred Legionnaires responded and were on duty for two days. The story of the Legion's participation is told in this official report of State Adjutant Morton M. David:

At midnight, July 31, the tramway union of Denver declared a strike. No cars were run the following three days. On Wednesday, August 4, a few cars were run with armed, imported strikebreakers and guards. No passengers were carried. On Thursday, August 5, the same method was used in running cars. Passengers were carried.

At 5 p.m. on Thursday a motor truck became stalled on the street-car tracks, blocking two street cars. A crowd soon gathered and a riot started. Five persons were injured.

The same evening at about 8:30 o'clock four street cars were attacked by a mob. Several persons were shot and others injured. The police were unable to disperse the mob. The street cars were overturned and several of the crews beaten.

The mob then proceeded to the office of the *Denver Post*, where they broke windows and entered the building, destroying furniture and part of the plant. Here also the police were unable effectively to control the situation. The mob then went to the South Side tramway barns, where they were fired on by the guards within. Three were killed and several wounded. One of the men killed was an American Legion member from Kansas, who was said to have been an innocent bystander.

At midnight Governor O. H. Shoup appealed to the American Legion to assist in maintaining law and order, as this State at the present time has no State troops. He stated that the city and State governments could not cope with the situation.

In response to Governor Shoup's appeal, a meeting of most of the commanders of Denver posts and members of the Denver Central Committee of the American Legion was held at 2 a.m. Friday, August 6. It was the sense of the meeting that an emergency existed by reason of rioting, destruction of property and injury to life, all caused by a small, disorderly and criminal element of the community. The meeting con-

sidered a statement of the Governor that the police force was unable to handle the situation, and a call issued by the Mayor for a volunteer force of patriotic citizens to assist in maintaining law and order. The union officials had denounced the action of the mob.

It was then resolved that each post of the American Legion should call a meeting of its members to act on the following plan:

To select one member to act on a general committee in charge, such man to report immediately at Legion Headquarters.

That such members as might wish be requested to volunteer their services as temporary peace officers.

That each post organize its own volunteers and select its own officers, and assemble in uniform at American Legion Headquarters.

That the general committee divide the entire city into districts, and each post be assigned a district to patrol and maintain law and order under control of the general committee.

That it should be distinctly understood that the Legion stands first for law and order, and that neither directly nor indirectly should the Legion by its action take any part whatsoever in the controversy between the tramway company and its employees.

That the volunteer force under no circumstances should operate cars, become strikebreakers, or act in any capacity except the maintenance of general order in the community.

By 2 o'clock in the afternoon all posts had held their meeting and had acted on the plan. At 4 o'clock more than 500 members reported at the American Legion clubhouse for duty.

Some were assigned as traffic officers in the business district. Their duties consisted of keeping all vehicles out of the district.

That same evening rioting occurred at the East Denver car barns between a mob and strikebreakers quartered in the barns. Three men were killed and several men and children were wounded and injured. The police were unable to cope with the situation, and the American Legion members were sent. They dispersed the crowd without firing a shot and without any trouble whatever.

The same duties were performed on Saturday, and at midnight the American Legion members were disbanded. Federal troops arrived at 1:30 Sunday morning.

Not one street car was run nor was there any attempt to run them during the two days that the American Legion members were active.

Not one shot was fired by any member while on duty, and outside of the one riot no trouble occurred.

On Friday night a conference was held between the president of the tramway union and the Legion Committee, and he was informed of the Legion's plans and was in accord with them. At the same time he stated that the union was against violence, and that the men had been repeatedly warned against committing any acts in violation of the law. As far as

we can ascertain the tramway union took no part in the riots. Seven persons were killed and more than fifty were injured.

The American Legion as an organization did not, nor did any of its members, take any part, directly or indirectly, in the strike.

On Monday, August 9, Ralph Pearson, a disabled member of the Legion, who was recovering from an operation and who did volunteer duty, was attacked from the rear by three thugs and severely beaten.

So much for Denver, and also for Kansas and New York —three episodes in which the Legion occupied the national spot-light in a year of tumult when what agency was not touched by the contending factions of capital and labor? There were, of course, many other local instances—some of them dramatic. The steel mills strike in Youngstown, Ohio, is an example. Early in 1920 Mr. D'Olier dictated this account of it, which has not been published before:

An example of how the American Legion has won the support of all people and all groups in our country who stand, as the Legion does, for law and order is illustrated by an occurrence in a Western city which recently came to my attention. There was a strike there last fall. The constituted authorities feared they might not be able to control the situation. They appealed to members of the American Legion. The Legion leaders heard the officers' plea and supplemented it by their own estimate of the situation. They decided Legion men should throw their weight as individual citizens with the constituted authorities, simply for the preservation of law and order and the prevention of excesses. The issues of the strike were not mentioned.

Enough Legion members offered their services to the Mayor to form a patrol for the protection of life and property. Unarmed, in their civilian clothes, they formed three reliefs and went on duty.

Some of the strikers who saw the Legionnaires on the streets misunderstood the situation. The rumor spread that the Legion men had volunteered their services as strikebreakers. On this assumption a mass meeting of strikers was called for the purpose of giving expression to denunciations of the Legion, which if circulated broadcast would have strained for a long time the relations between organized labor and the Legion. A Legion leader heard of the meeting and attended. He asked to be permitted to present the Legion men's side of the case. In substance he said:

"I know you men will hear me, and having heard me I want you to take such action as you think good Americans ought to take. Many of you men know me. I am a union man. My father is a union man and is on strike. Members of the American Legion have volunteered their services in this crisis, not as strikebreakers, as many of you have been

told, but as supporters of law and order, and protectors of property and of life, if need be. The property and persons of union and non-union men, employers and workers, will be protected alike. It is a plain issue of law and order. The American Legion stands for law and order and asks all others who stand for law and order to stand with it."

The meeting adjourned after passing a resolution unanimously commending the attitude of the American Legion men, and the strike was an orderly one. I think the Legion helped to make it so.

In that first year the sedulous campaign of opposition to the Legion took many forms. The flimsiest of pretexts were fixed upon in efforts to traduce and discredit the organization. An example was the order of the Secretary of War authorizing the loan of "obsolete or condemned Army rifles to posts of the American Legion for use by them in connection with the funeral ceremonies of deceased soldiers, sailors and marines" and the sale to such posts of "blank ammunition in suitable amounts for said rifles." The number of rifles was limited to ten to a post.

Immediately an organized propaganda was under way to the effect that the Legion was arming a million men with regulation service rifles and ball cartridges. Scores of labor and other publications reprinted a letter attributed to the international president of a great union asserting that Congress had authorized Legion posts to purchase arms and ball ammunition. Such accusations unquestionably alienated thousands of ex-service men of the laboring class. Several State and local leaders urged Mr. D'Olier to ask the Secretary of War to withdraw his rifle order. This the Commander declined to do. He deemed it would have been tantamount to a confession of guilt where no guilt existed. As in a hundred other small crises he refused to be stampeded, and the flurry blew over. Today there are posts composed exclusively of union labor members who have their rifles and blank ammunition and use them on ceremonial occasions.

Despite the fact that an evil story will spread throughout the country where a commendable one will halt at a county line—despite the episodes I have mentioned, and others like

them—good accounts of the Legion outran the bad accounts even in that trying first year. There were accounts of fire, flood and disaster, where the Legion stepped in and rendered great services to society for the preservation of law and order and the protection of life and property. There was the case of Desdemona, Texas, where the Legion ended a lawless reign of terror.

Time was when the law that was on the statute-books did not amount to much in the country round about Desdemona. The law that counted was that which spoke from the business end of a six-shooter. Those were the frontier days, the cattle days. They are long ago and far away. Homesteaders came and plowed the great ranges under. The cattle kings moved westward. Statute-book law came into its own. When the youth of Desdemona and environs went away to war in 1917 they left a peaceful, law-abiding farming community, whose wild frontier past was a remote and receding memory.

The youth of Desdemona returned in 1919 to find the calendar thrust back thirty years or more. The oil boom, which for years had been regarded as a speculative jest, had become an accomplished fact. A forest of dingy pumping towers had sprung up over the flat, sandy acres, from which black, liquid gold, measured by millions of dollars, poured up night and day. From all parts of the earth had swarmed the treasure hunters and the motley citizenry that trail in the wake of strokes of fortune. The dusty, sleepy little way-station of 1917 had become a humming, money-mad oil camp of twenty thousand restless souls. Liquor flowed. Gambling rioted. Women of the oldest profession—in fact vice in every form proclaimed that the wide-open days of the old West had come again to Desdemona.

The forces of evil were intrenched in an exceedingly practical fashion. They had built up a political machine which elected and controlled most of the local public officials nominally charged with the enforcement of the law.

THESE BROUGHT LAW AND ORDER TO DESDEMONA

Legionnaires B. F. Bates, Horace Soule, Z. Rochelle (standing), Dick Kent, Le Roy Kemp

Thus lawlessness in Desdemona was undisturbed—until the veterans came home. They formed a Legion post and named it Peavy-Price, after two of their number who did not come home with them. The Legionnaires disapproved of the changed state of affairs. They had the backing of a large element of the citizenship of the town, which, however, was powerless in the face of the political ring that was in control. Individually the veterans began an agitation for reform. They did not get very far. Horace Soule, a prominent Legionnaire and later post commander, was stopped on the street one night by a constable, a henchman of the gambling clique, and challenged to a pistol duel. Postmaster H. E. Williams, another Legionnaire, was asked to inspect the small end of a .44 and told to devote himself to his own business. Others were threatened in turn.

It was made plain that the American Legion was not wanted in Desdemona. One night the post gave a dinner which was advertised by posters, one of which bore the picture of Post Commander B. F. Bates, who at the age of fifty had enlisted as a private in the engineers. A constable snatched one of the pictures from a window at post headquarters and demolished it in front of an applauding crowd. The dinner was given and later Bates and another Legionnaire were held up by the constable, a deputy sheriff and a justice of the peace and searched for arms. Bates wired Legion State headquarters for aid, and the Adjutant-General of Texas sent Captain Aldridge of the Texas Rangers to investigate.

Aldridge found Desdemona in tumult. Two women relatives of the constable had invaded Legion headquarters and torn down Bates's picture. It was replaced and the courageous constable held the veterans at bay while his Amazonian allies again ripped down the lithograph. The lawless element was parading the streets, shouting defiance to the Legionnaires. Late that afternoon, in response to secret summons, the members of the Peavy-Price post assem-

bled behind locked doors. There was something in the quiet determination of the veterans' manner that awed the mob. Momentarily it lost its nerve and before the veterans had an opportunity to act, a messenger appeared at their door. He bore a written apology from the constable, deploring the raid on the post headquarters and promising to make amends and be at peace with the Legion henceforth.

The answer of Peavy-Price post was a demand that the constable, the deputy sheriff and the justice of the peace resign and leave town within twenty-four hours.

The officers refused. Their followers began arming. Civil war seemed unavoidable.

News of the veterans' ultimatum, the ring's refusal and the impending clash which seemed imminent spread like wildfire over the countryside. Drilling and pumping operations ceased in the Desdemona fields and the roads were clogged as men poured in to witness the fight. Not all came to witness; many came to participate. Sentiment was divided. There were plenty of ex-service men among those hardy drilling crews who stood with their comrades of the Legion, and announced their intention to help if help should be needed. Other oil workers were with the ring and the wide-open régime for Desdemona where a fellow could have his fun on pay nights. All night and all day long they poured into town. Desdemona's main street was a moiling, noisy mass of humanity, waiting with tense expectancy the arrival of the zero hour at sundown.

Just before this hour came, a terrific sand-storm swooped down on Desdemona, driving most of the crowd to cover. Neither the accused officers nor the Legion leaders had been greatly in evidence during the day. Not long after nightfall the three officers appeared, armed to the teeth. They marched down the middle of the main street, proclaiming their defiance of the Legion. They entered a drug store. Captain Aldridge appeared with eighteen Legionnaires who had been sworn in as special deputies. Some of

the veterans distributed themselves quietly along the principal street, ready for an outbreak should an outbreak come. Others moved toward the drug store the officials had entered, followed by a curious crowd. It was nearly 10 o'clock. The throng outside the drug store increased. Some were hostile, others merely curious to witness the show-down.

The drug store door opened and the three heavily-armed officers walked out. Le Roy Kemp, of Peavy-Price Post, a small man and unarmed, stepped up to them.

"Surrender," he said.

The officers hesitated. They glanced beyond Kemp and in so doing glanced along the barrels of a half dozen revolvers in the hands of Captain Aldridge's special deputies. They surrendered and were relieved of their knives and guns. They were asked if they were ready to comply with the Legion's demands. They said they were. The Legionnaires marched them to the office of the justice of the peace where resignations were written out and signed. Commander Bates had just folded the last of these interesting documents when a frantic woman brandishing a pistol burst into the room. She was one of the relatives of the constable who had figured in the post headquarters raid. She was disarmed after a brief struggle, and the ex-officials and their belongings stowed in automobiles and driven to the outskirts of town. There they were let out and told to keep on going.

They carried out these simple instructions to the letter, and the law of statute-books returned to Desdemona.

CHAPTER X

FIRST ADJUSTED COMPENSATION CAMPAIGN

THE action of the caucus at St. Louis on an adjustment of compensation for veterans has been widely misrepresented by certain interests and rather thoroughly misunderstood by a great many people. This correspondence discloses the Legion's official interpretation of its action at St. Louis.

In August of 1919 Miss Ray C. Sawyer, Commander of Semper Fidelis Post in New York City, wrote to Chairman Lindsley:

> It is our understanding that the St. Louis Caucus unanimously voted as being opposed to the bonus idea at that time.
>
> While we find no strong sentiment here in favor of a bonus, at the same time some of our members want to know whether the American Legion has finally vetoed that idea or whether it is merely in abeyance until the November convention.

To which Mr. Lindsley replied:

> In reply to your letter of August 4 I wish to inform you that the St. Louis caucus of the American Legion did not pass a resolution opposing a bonus from our Federal Government to ex-service men. The fact is that a resolution was offered demanding such bonus and that a delegate to the convention moved to lay this resolution on the table. This was the unanimous action of the caucus, not a single vote being cast against laying the resolution on the table. It was certainly the prevailing idea of the St. Louis caucus that the time was not then ripe for the American Legion to go on record as favoring any of the various bonus plans proposed and that such action as the American Legion might desire to take on this most important subject ought to be after general demobilization so that there could be the fullest expression from practically all ex-service men. The convention in November will be representative to this extent, and at this convention the bonus question will undoubtedly be determined in so far as the American Legion is concerned in accordance with the wishes of its membership.
>
> It should be clearly understood that the action of the St. Louis caucus is subject to such review at the Minneapolis convention as may then be determined best.

There is a point in Miss Sawyer's inquiry to which I

desire to direct passing attention. She says that while in her post—composed of young women who had served in the Navy as yeomen(f)—there existed at that moment "no strong sentiment in favor of a bonus, at the same time some of our members want to know" whether this new Legion they had just joined had definitely committed itself. The letter betrays no more than a mild and generally non-committal interest in the subject. In this it reflected very accurately the current position of the majority of the Legion membership and of the ex-service population.

There was too much for the newly-returned veteran to do in those days for much serious consideration to be given to the question of adjusted compensation. He had not yet encountered the stern realities of his new life. There was too much exhilaration in just being back home with the folks to give much mind to brass tacks. "A bonus? Oh, maybe and maybe not—ask me some other time."

Maybe and maybe not—that was the veteran's attitude on the compensation question in the spring of 1919. It was not a very dependable attitude to use as the basis of a piece of most important national policy for a young organization that had to watch its step or stumble. The delegates at St. Louis looked this situation over and passed the bonus question by. They felt they could afford to do nothing else, and they were right. The question was full of dynamite. A resolution calling for a declaration in favor of a bonus was tabled by unanimous vote and without comment. As things have turned out that resolution might have been adopted without untoward results, but that couldn't be foreseen at the time. It would have done no particular good, anyway, and it might have done untold harm. So the buck was passed to Minneapolis.

Whether a majority of the delegates at St. Louis actually, by reason of personal conviction, favored adjusted compensation or were opposed to it is inconsequential. In all probability a majority of them favored it at that time.

Certainly a majority, a very great majority, of those who were at St. Louis favored compensation a year later.

A pronounced and definite sentiment in favor of adjusted compensation began to grow as the Legion grew and as the returned service man began to open his eyes to many of the strange aspects of the new world which had replaced the familiar one he had left to go to war. His dollar was worth about forty cents and prices were stupendous. He began to discover something of the true nature of the hole the war had put him in financially, and how, by contrast, his equals who had stayed at home had profited beyond their boldest dreams. No one in touch with the National Headquarters of the Legion during the St. Louis-to-Minneapolis period could avoid being forcibly struck by the rapid increase and the crystallization of sentiment for a bonus, an adjustment of compensation, or something to square up matters in favor of the men who had fought the war.

Chairman Lindsley, of course, was in a better position than anyone else to gauge this popular opinion. He made a special study of the question. It convinced him that a vast majority not only of the Legion membership, but of all veterans favored an unequivocal declaration in favor of an adjustment of compensation. And furthermore, he was convinced they were morally and economically right. He prepared privately a resolution setting forth what he conceived to be the sentiment of this majority and took it with him to Minneapolis.

The story of the adoption of the adjusted compensation resolution by the convention has been told. The resolution declared the veteran to be entitled to an "adjustment of compensation" but that the Legion "could not ask for legislation in its own selfish interest" and left the matter "with confidence to the Congress." This resolution was much less explicit than the one Mr. Lindsley had written and submitted to the Legislative Committee of the convention.

The membership as a whole accepted the action of the

convention with an air of suspended judgment. When Congress failed to act the feeling began to assert itself that the convention had not spoken with sufficient vigor or directness. Several Legion leaders expressed regret that the convention had not requested payment of a specific sum. The membership demanded action, and on February 10th, 1920, Mr. D'Olier summoned the National Executive Committee to meet in Indianapolis. Discussion of the bonus was short and to the point. John G. Emery of Michigan led off and half a dozen other committeemen backed him up with statements that the rank and file of the organization in their States expected an unmistakable declaration. The following resolution—drafted by Fred M. Alger of Michigan, Thomas Lee of Kansas and Kenneth McRae of District of Columbia—was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the question of adjustment of compensation or extra pay for service men and women was pending before Congress at the time of the National Convention of the American Legion in Minneapolis, November, 1919, and:

Whereas, the American Legion, in national convention assembled, left with confidence the discharge of this obligation to Congress; and,

Whereas, no definite action looking toward such compensation has yet been taken by Congress; and,

Whereas, it becomes the immediate duty of the American Legion definitely to state the right of service men and women to this adjusted compensation;

Therefore, be it Resolved, that it is the sense of the National Executive Committee that all service men and women are entitled to adjusted compensation in the form and amount of a fifty dollar bond per month of service.

The Executive Committee recommended immediate action and got it. Mr. D'Olier created a Committee on Beneficial Legislation headed by A. A. Sprague, of Chicago, and composed of nine members representing every section of the country and every shade of Legion opinion on the compensation question. The committee met in Washington and recommended legislation covering four classes of payments. On March 2nd Mr. D'Olier appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House and presented this

tentative program, which would give the veteran a choice of the following forms of compensation:

1. Land settlement in all States.
2. Aid in the purchase of city and country homes.
3. Vocational training.
4. Bonds on a basis of fifty dollars for each month of service.

This was the basis of all succeeding compensation legislation.

"An overwhelming majority of ex-service men feel strongly that this Government owes an obligation to all persons who were handicapped either bodily or financially by military or naval service," Mr. D'Olier told the Congress. "The American Legion asks nothing in its selfish interest at the expense of the country. It asks only as liberal treatment as is consistent with the welfare of the whole country."

The discussion aroused not only throughout the Legion but the country at large convinced Mr. D'Olier that another meeting of the National Executive Committee was advisable to work out the details of the principles announced. The committee assembled in Washington on March 22d. For six weeks adjusted compensation had been the prevailing topic of discussion in and out of the Legion and every committeeman appeared armed with instructions from his State organization.

Mr. Sprague's committee had just spent two days and nights incorporating the four cardinal principles determined upon into a bill which was considered at the first of the Executive Committee sessions. It was immediately apparent that while sentiment was virtually unanimous for the first three options—land settlement, home aid and vocational training—there was opposition to the cash feature. On the other hand, several committeemen asserted that their constituents were not so enthusiastic over the first three features, and would accept them only if assured the

cash option would be included. Mr. D'Olier called for a poll of the States and each man stated briefly what the veterans he represented desired. Then the bill was taken up piecemeal by James G. Scrugham of the Sprague committee, and considered sentence by sentence. Every word was subjected to the closest scrutiny. Thus the bill was whipped into the form in which it was introduced by Representative James W. Fordney of Michigan. It followed closely the outline of the four-fold optional plan previously outlined in principle by the Sprague committee. The land settlement, vocational training and cash options were to pay $1.50 for every day of service and the home aid option $2 for every day.

The revamped bill was passed by the Executive Committee by a vote of 47 to 5. Three National Vice-Commanders voted for the bill. The representatives of Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, South Carolina and Texas voted against it because of the cash compensation feature. The Southern representatives objected because they feared cash in the hands of the negro laborers of the South would mean that they would not work until it was spent and crops would suffer from want of attention in the meantime.

With the Legion thus committed to an out-and-out fight for a specific piece of legislation the fur began to fly. The "bonus" became one of the leading domestic questions of the day. Commander D'Olier swung the organization into the fray with everything it had, and Wall Street began to marshal opposition.

The Legion submitted to the country that the soldier or sailor who fought for a dollar a day while the man who remained at home worked for a dollar an hour, was entitled to a financial adjustment from the Government; that the country could afford to make this adjustment; that the four-fold bill represented the most equable means by which it could be done.

The principal arguments of the opposition were that the

financial burden involved would "wreck the treasury" and that the ex-service man in asking for an adjustment of compensation was "putting a price on patriotism." The Legion's answer to the "wreck the treasury" argument was to point out that the cost of the carrying out of the provisions of the four-fold bill would be about equal to the cost of three weeks war. Had the war gone on for three weeks longer than it did, would the treasury have been "wrecked"? The Legion did not think so. Furthermore if the treasury could afford to pay out several billions in "adjusted compensation" to rich contractors for military supplies never delivered because of the intervention of peace, and advance hundreds of millions to rich railroads, why was there nothing left for soldiers and sailors who were not rich?

"It will be very difficult," said Mr. D'Olier, in a speech in Philadelphia, "for Congress after spending billions of dollars as a result of war-time extravagance—a Congress which well protected the profiteering manufacturer and contractor —to explain to the ex-service man that it can do nothing to help him overcome the disadvantages incident to his service, when he is the very person who stopped the war a year earlier than was expected, thus saving Congress from the necessity of raising ten billions more."

Nor could the Legion find much basis for the "price of patriotism" argument. Munitions plant and shipyard workers frequently were paid more for a day's work than a soldier drew for a month's service after the customary deductions had been made from his pay; but no one accused the munition and ship men of putting a price on their patriotism. George Washington took a grant of land for his services and urged land grants and cash bounties for his men in a message to Congress couched in language that might pass for that of an editorial in the *American Legion Weekly*. Lincoln urged the enactment of pension legislation. These were facts the Legion placed before the country.

Pitted against the Legion were the moneyed interests.

This opposition soon realized it was getting nowhere to speak of. It was confronted with the necessity of stiffening its resistance or facing the speedy passage by Congress of the Fordney bill. It was a question what to do. Several courses were open, but those who contended the situation called for drastic measures won their point, and plans were laid for the dismemberment and overthrow of the American Legion. These plans were bold, but not as rash as they have been called. It is easy to be wise after the fact. Considering all things as they were at that time, to split the American Legion was a feat worth trying at least. In the first place, if successful, it certainly would have dissipated all chances for the Fordney bill or anything like it for many years. And in the second place, to outward appearances at least, this success might not prove unattainable.

The National Commander, Mr. D'Olier, was a very wealthy man. He had not been one of the early advocates of compensation legislation. It was not known whether personal conviction or his sense of duty and responsibility to the membership of the Legion had been the determining factor in his championship of the cause. It was not known—yet—how steadfast would be his adherence to any principle the Legion might espouse.

The Legion itself had not achieved permanence in the minds of many people. It was new, hastily and imperfectly organized—still a bit wobbly on its legs. A brisk breath of wind might carry it away or cast it into dissension and confusion. At any rate so it was reasoned.

The first move was an attempt to persuade Mr. D'Olier to resign. This would have done the work. It would have altered the whole future course of organized veterandom in the United States. Just what might or might not have happened in this event, however, is idle speculation in its most trivial form. Mr. D'Olier took the suggestion that he desert the Legion as a personal affront.

The matter was broached most adroitly. Mr. D'Olier

was informed that a gigantic merger of interests in which he had extensive holdings was to be brought about. Those concerned were looking about for man to head the new combine. Their choice had fallen on Mr. D'Olier. The salary would be sufficiently large to attract even a man of the Commander's wealth. Of course, however, if Mr. D'Olier desired to have further serious consideration given his name he must realize that his presence as the titular head of an organization advocating anything as economically destructive as this dangerous soldier bonus would be regarded as incompatible with any terms upon which his engagement could be arranged.

Mr. D'Olier found himself unable to accede to these terms, and oddly enough the merger did not come off. In order that his position should be entirely clear, and to forestall any effort at reprisal on the part of the interests whose dictates he had declined to observe, the Commander felt it necessary to make certain important and not inexpensive redispositions of his own large business holdings. The writer's opinion of this episode is that Mr. D'Olier refused to be bribed to "throw" the Legion on the adjusted compensation issue.

This incident reveals the sore straits in which the big business opponents of the four-fold bill found themselves. An attempt to sway public sentiment against the Legion's contentions failed. An attempt to divert attention by accusing the Legion of deserting the disabled to lead a selfish raid on the treasury for the benefit of those who "came back from the war better off in every way than when they left home" failed. An attempt to start a new veterans' organization whose battle cry should be "no bonus" failed. A lot of money was spent on the enterprise last named. Organizers and publicity experts were engaged to put over an organization known as the National Committee for Disabled Veterans and for Referendum on the Bonus. Expensive offices were maintained in New York. The country was

flooded with literature and a paper organization set up in every State. Eventually it all petered out.

With the defeat of attempts to invoke popular or veteran sentiment against the measure the fight entered a new phase, the strategy of which was to strike the bill by means of a fomented controversy over methods of money-raising. The idea was to play off the advocates of different money-raising schemes one against the other, and embroil Congress in a general dispute, in which the four-fold bill, in the role of innocent bystander, would get the knock-out.

While this was going on the bill was in the House Ways and Means Committee. The situation was getting serious, as Congress was due to adjourn on June 5th. On May 1st Mr. D'Olier directed members of the National Executive Committee to canvass sentiment in their States and to assemble in Washington on May 18th. At this meeting the State opposition dwindled from seven to two, and a resolution urging immediate action on the bill was adopted by a vote of 47 to 2. Mr. D'Olier said the State canvasses revealed ninety-five per cent. of the Legion membership in favor of the bill, and, with Chairman Taylor of the National Legislative Committee, he began a last fight to get the bill through the House before adjournment should bring a truce upon the operations.

On May 19th, while the Executive Committee was still in session, the majority (Republican) party in the House caucused and approved the Fordney bill by a vote of 116 to 38. Four days later the bill was reported favorably by the Ways and Means Committee. On May 29th the House passed the bill by a vote of 289 to 92. It went to the Senate and was referred to the Finance Committee, which could not assemble a quorum. There it slept when Congress adjourned, bringing an end to the adjusted compensation skirmish of 1920.

CHAPTER XI

FRANKLIN D'OLIER'S LEADERSHIP

THERE are great movements and there are great institutions. Our history is a succession of them. An institution is a movement that has become fixed and crystallized. A tendency toward self-government began to develop in England's American colonies about the middle of the eighteenth century. This was a movement. That tendency resulted in the first Continental Congress, which wisely decided to perpetuate itself. So we came to have the Congress of the United States, which is an institution. Not all movements, by any means, become institutions. In fact, most of them do not. Most of them disintegrate; only the fittest survive. This hardy Anglo-Saxon method of institution-making is the best the modern world has known. That is why institutions of Anglo-Saxon origin rule most of the earth today.

At the close of its first year of permanent organization the American Legion was still more of a movement than an institution; but it was fast becoming an institution.

Great movements are inspired and great institutions arise in two general ways. They take their being from a dynamic personality, from a great idea or a deep conviction. The Progressive party was a personal thing, animated, of course, by deep convictions; but essentially it was personal. The overshadowing personality of Roosevelt was its root and branch. When his leadership was withdrawn, the party collapsed. The movement which resulted in the abolition of African slavery in the United States was essentially impersonal (William Lloyd Garrison and Harriet Beecher Stowe were agitators, not leaders) and leaderless—a slow, planless, irresistible growth predicated on and stimulated by convictions.

The American Legion began its development toward institutional status by the impersonal method. True, it

would have been possible to find some States and some communities where the Legion stood as a monument to the vigorous and striking personality of an individual leader; Illinois, for example, in the person of Milton J. Foreman. Such instances, however, were rare. Usually the individual was submerged. You left a gathering of State or county officials with no definite impression of one man towering above the others, projecting his personal influence and dominance beyond that of his fellows. Rather, there was a sense of the impersonal greatness of the Legion idea, the Legion creed; of abstract principles transcending personalities. You sat in the high councils at National Headquarters and the effect was the same—the American Legion: a great idea, a great creed, free from the devastating human weaknesses that personalities are heir to, moving forward by imperceptible means; an imposing and impressive conception.

The Legion has been capable of brilliant personal leadership, but this did not come during the first year. This was not accidental. It was the design of Franklin D'Olier. It was his way of doing things.

What manner of man, then, is this D'Olier, this impersonal leader whose quiet genius for doing things without show laid the foundation of the American Legion as an American institution?

He was forty-two years old when elected National Commander, a Quaker, a graduate of Princeton in 1898, and the head of Franklin D'Olier & Company, yarn merchants, of Philadelphia. He was born in Burlington, New Jersey, where six native generations of D'Oliers have preceded him. A conservative in almost everything; the superlative forms of speech could be striken from the language without diminishing his ability to express himself with the same unmistakable clarity and effect; a quiet, serene, unruffled man with a serene, unruffled, analytical mind; an admirable compromiser and conciliator; a tolerant and agreeable man,

always willing to hear the other fellow's side and a wizard at converting people to his own side so adroitly that they are apt to be unaware of the change.

"Now you are a lawyer and I am just a plain business man; you are undoubtedly right, but the point that is not quite clear to me is—"

"I am not a writer. I don't pretend to know how to put thoughts on paper. That editorial is fine. I wish I could do half as well; let's look at this paragraph a moment—"

He is a master at getting the other fellow to do things *his* way. His very presence was the first step toward composing a difficulty.

Modest to the point of self-depreciation:

"The public may not care to be kidded, but it certainly likes to do a lot of kidding. I have even been told by total strangers that I have just made a great speech. I can't even make a bad speech. I can't make a speech at all. They say I am a great man—imagine it—that my name will go down in history. But I always get them there. I ask them who was the first National Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic. I've never found anyone who could tell me and I've never seen it in history."

Such is D'Olier.

He is not a great book reader, but an intensely penetrating and practical student of human nature; a shrewd observer of the small details of conduct which he believes are often trustworthy indicators of caliber or character. Cautious; a believer in conference and consultation; likely to pause in the consideration of a difficult problem to get the reaction of the first man who comes along. He made the word "reaction" a part of the National Headquarters vocabulary. A delightful companion, who invests every occasion with an air of comfortable informality. The soul of courtesy; every inquiry and every letter he receives, no matter from whom or about what, gets a considerate answer. He can say a great deal in a very few words, or nothing in a

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great many words, as suits his purpose; and is courteous and plausible—always. He can do an incredible amount of work in a day, yet he never hurries others or permits others to hurry him; possessed of a quiet sense of gaiety which seldom deserts him: a patient, polished, painstaking and exceedingly able gentleman.

We have seen him at the Roosevelt dinner in Paris, at the St. Louis caucus and on the Organization Committee of Five as the right bower of Chairman Lindsley. Our next glimpse is at Minneapolis. The last rafter-raising syllable acclaiming the announcement that a National Commander had been selected by the Legion had perished in echo, and the delegates after the twelve-hour no-stop session which brought the convention to a close were making good use of all available exits of the Auditorium.

On the stage a rapidly increasing knot of Legionnaires was milling around a slender, youthful-looking, embarrassed man, tumultuously offering him their congratulations, soliciting introductions, but more often introducing themselves with no solicitation whatsoever. The object of the demonstration took it calmly, but it was obvious that nothing in his previous experience quite covered the situation —for Franklin D'Olier had never been elected before to anything more thrilling than a board of directors. The Philadelphia fire and police departments get few calls as a consequence of an old Chestnut street firm naming a new director.

But taking things serenely seemed to be one of the traits of this man D'Olier, if one were to leap at a conclusion. Nor had his speech of acceptance given promise of a particularly oratorical trend. Quoted in full from the minutes it follows:

"My word is simply this. We came here to work. Let us keep on working and not listen to speeches. I thank you."

You will remember that Minneapolis, first of all, was a working convention. Ability, then, to fit in with the scheme of things was another characteristic it was safe to impute to the new Commander.

The crowd on the stage thinned out by and by, and watching his chance the Commander escaped to a taxicab. He tried the side door of the Radisson Hotel but the stratagem was futile. He was ambushed and a second assault by greeters and congratulators ensued after which friends covered his retreat to a committee room upstairs. It was 11 p.m., but although he had been almost without sleep for three nights Mr. D'Olier called a conference and began the organization of his administration. Then and there several of us who were to follow him through his term of office learned the less sleep D'Olier gets the less he seems to need.

Much was done that night and more would have been done had not ardent Legionnaires continually managed to infiltrate through the sentries and burst in on the Commander with congratulations. At 7 o'clock in the morning the conference ended. No one but Mr. D'Olier and George White, who had run a nail in his foot and couldn't sleep anyway, was able to hold his eyes open. And the Executive Committee meeting had been called for 9 o'clock.

Mr. D'Olier paused by the elevator to say good night to a friend and Legion associate since the Paris days—a man of considerable experience in public life.

"Well, what do you make of it, Frank?" the Commander was asked.

"I seem to have a lot of friends," observed Mr. D'Olier, non-committally.

"Yes, you do *seem* to," replied the man of public experience.

More than once during the trying year that followed Mr. D'Olier, with a half-serious smile, recalled the words of his friend. There were times when he couldn't run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, when he couldn't please everybody, and when he had to displease a lot of people or the Legion would have been in bad case. When the times for firmness came D'Olier was firm. Mr. Foreman put it

pretty succinctly once when he remarked in the course of a Pullman car discussion:

"D'Olier has a job of construction. He can't apologize to every board he nails down."

But these things notwithstanding, Mr. D'Olier ended his term the most popular man and the outstanding figure in American veterandom. He might easily have succeeded himself. In fact he devoted no small amount of energy during the last two months of his tenure of office to the furtherance of a quiet but effective campaign aimed at the destruction of a movement to re-elect him. On the trip he made to the Pacific coast in August he used to tell his admirers who would press for an expression of his views:

"The Legion has fifty years of usefulness before it. Surely in that time it can develop, from the five million it has to draw from, fifty men qualified to head the organization. I do not see why it should ever be necessary or wise for a National Commander to succeed himself."

Mr. D'Olier's hold on the membership came by stages. These contributing factors may be noted—his pleasing personality; a mind which enabled him to examine with impartial fairness and reconcile divergent views; an aptitude for counsel; the spreading knowledge that he was making a real personal sacrifice to serve the Legion; the growing conviction that that service was unselfish and wholly disinterested, and that he was giving the Legion precisely the type of leadership the situation required.

Mr. D'Olier did not readily consent to permit his name to go before the Minneapolis convention. An hour before the nominating speeches began he was still trying to beg off. He felt his duty to his family required that he return to his business which he left in 1917, and it took earnest pleading to convince him otherwise. While Commander he served the Legion without pay, defrayed all of his expenses and contributed substantially in other ways to the support of the new organization. For that matter, Mr. D'Olier did not

cash a pay-voucher during the two years he was in the Army. True, he is a rich man and could afford it. There are others also able to have served their country without pay either in the Army or in the Legion, but D'Olier did it.

Few knew then, or know now, of the courage displayed by Mr. D'Olier when he committed the Legion to open advocacy of adjusted compensation and led the legislative fight which witnessed the passage of the four-fold bill by the House. Personally, Mr. D'Olier had taken little interest in the adjusted compensation issue before he became Commander.

As he once declared, "I do not need the compensation myself, do not want it and would not take it." But once in office he set about to determine four things concerning adjusted compensation.

Did the majority of veterans want it?

Did they need it?

Were they entitled to it?

Was its payment economically justifiable?

The answer was "yes" in every case. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that had Mr. D'Olier conceived the answer to have been anything else he would have opposed a commitment in favor of adjusted compensation with every ounce of his quiet strength. Had he done this the history of the American Legion might have been very different. Not all of us have the character to admit, even to ourselves, that we may have been mistaken; fewer still, who have anything to lose, have the courage to meet the vast powers of "big business" in a finish fight. Those powers are arrogant and mighty. Not often are they opposed with success—and success has not prospered the Legion's efforts as yet.

But the answer was "yes" in every particular. Only one thing remained to do. That was to start the fight. Mr. D'Olier did it as casually as he would have ordered his breakfast.

The principal source, in fact the only organized source

of opposition to the Legion compensation issue has been "big business." From first to last these intrenched interests fought the Legion and have stopped at nothing that could be done to injure the Legion when they would profit by that injury. The Legion is still in business, but the dominating trade and money interests of the country are not responsible; they have done their best to wreck it. The first move was to ask Mr. D'Olier to resign, and thus repudiate the "grasping tendencies" of his organization. This, of course, was simply a threat; Franklin D'Olier & Company is well within the sphere and purview of "big business."

Instead of resigning the Commander turned on the foes of adjusted compensation with the declaration that "some of the interests in this country which have contributed least to the war and profited most by it are now attempting to tell the men who saved this country from a German indemnity what they can expect as a fair return for their services." It took nerve to take that stand and more nerve to maintain it. It also cost Mr. D'Olier a great deal of money, and he has not yet been forgiven. I have always thought it one of the finest things any Legion leader has ever done.

Crossing Wall street on the way to the office of Wade H. Hayes, who was Commander of the New York department, Mr. D'Olier remarked to me at one time:

"I don't feel welcome down here any more. There are a lot of people in this neighborhood who used to think I was a pretty decent, respectable business man who knew the rules of the game and played by them. Now they treat me as if I belonged to the I. W. W."

Mr. D'Olier had a profound distaste for many of the attributes and demands of public life. The spot-light was painful to him. He hated to make a speech. He disliked to see his name or his picture in the newspapers. It was contrary to his conservative business training and his natural instinct for privacy. Above all he protested against being featured as the personal head of the Legion. He

believed in a plural government for the Legion. He believed the Legion was bigger than any man in it and he construed that belief as particularly applicable to himself.

When I left the *Weekly* to organize the American Legion News Service I used to be running into this side of his character continually. Mr. D'Olier certainly was a publicity man's despair. My aim, to get the Legion and its activities into the newspapers, which could only be done through the instrumentality of an individual; and Mr. D'Olier's aim, to build the Legion into a great, impersonal institution of public service, came frequently and amusingly into conflict.

Such are the means by which Franklin D'Olier piloted the American Legion through its most sensitive year and brought it to its second National Convention, which opened in Cleveland on September 27th, 1920. On the threshold of that convention the Legion could review with satisfaction its record of the year past—what it had accomplished in its infancy for the tranquillity and security of our country; to make for higher standards of citizenship; to better the condition of the disabled and all needy veterans; to make the local post, of which there were now 9,709 dotting the country, real factors in the life of their communities and, in nineteen overseas possessions and foreign countries, actual outposts of Americanism. The Legion was accepted by the country with the general realization that in it was an institution upon which the Nation would impose heavy responsibilities in shaping its courses in the years to come.

On the day of his arrival in Cleveland to attend the convention, Mr. D'Olier while shaving gave a reporter for the *Plain Dealer* the most apt definition of the American Legion I know.

He called it "the best insurance policy a country ever had."

CHAPTER XII

THE TEST AT CLEVELAND

In September of 1920 that entertaining quadriennial phenomenon of American life known as the "political year" neared its absorbing close. For many months the fascinating occupations of politics and political gossip, surmise, intrigue, speculation, rumor, and report had been the nigh all-embracing considerations of our existence. They had been our meat and drink, our daily fare. They touched and tinctured everything. Nothing—no man or group—enjoyed the convenient distinction reserved for Caesar's wife. None was unsuspected, none exempt. If one's political motives and leanings were not transparent one was merely cunning. It was impossible that such motives and leanings did not exist.

Into the last-named category fell the American Legion, "non-partisan" and "non-political." These disclaimers were a clever shield, but merely a shield. A million ex-soldiers and sailors banded together and not in partisan politics! It could not be. Had the Legion been misled in the pursuit of an unattainable ideal or was it playing a deep, deep game? Unquestionably it could not live and abstain from partisanship. Had the G. A. R. and the U. C. V. done so? They had not.

Many believed, and among them were many Legionnaires, that it would be impracticable—if not impossible—for the Legion longer to attempt to hold aloof from political considerations. Many believed that a liberal interpretation of the Legion constitution on this point would strengthen rather than impair the sinews of the organization. Others urged it would be necessary to sanction officially an action which if not so sanctioned might be practiced unofficially and in violation of the constitution. There were many views on the subject, and for months before the second con-

vention assembled at Cleveland these views had been aired freely at post and county gatherings and at several State conventions. Most discussion had been inconclusive. It was the feeling that this was a matter for the National Convention to decide. Several State delegations went to Cleveland with instructions to bring the issue before the convention, thresh it out in the open and reach a decision as to whether or not the time had come for modification of the constitutional ban on political activity.

Thus came about the issue for which the Cleveland convention perhaps will longest be remembered. The convention assembled on September 27th, six weeks and one day prior to the presidential election. Then and there was the issue threshed out and settled—settled it seems to me for a long time to come. Everything that has transpired since appears to confirm the judgment of the membership as expressed, though not without division of sentiment and controversy, by the Cleveland convention when it overwhelmingly voted down a "clarifying" resolution which would in effect have modified the political restrictions clause of the national constitution.

The convention intrusted the matter to its Committee on Constitutional Amendment, of which the experienced Eric Fisher Wood was chairman. So important was deemed the work of this committee that it was decided its recommendations should not be acted upon by the convention until twenty-four hours had elapsed after their presentation on the floor. Mr. Wood's first appearance before the convention was at the beginning of the afternoon session of Tuesday, September 28th, the second day of the sessions.

The delegates gave close attention as he observed that the committee was ready to report "on everything except political restriction. That will be brought in later this afternoon." Chairman Wood read the recommendations to which the committee had already agreed: National Commanders and National Vice-Commanders shall be ineligible

ERIC FISHER WOOD

to re-election; the National Adjutant shall be elected by the Executive Committee upon the nomination of the National Commander, and may be removed by the Executive Committee; Past National Commanders shall be life members of the Executive Committee, but without vote. All amendments to the preamble had been rejected.

The committee had rejected by a vote of twenty-six to six a proposal sponsored by Minnesota to district the country into five areas, each district to elect one Vice-Commander. "The proposal," said Mr. Wood, "has great administrative advantages, but we felt, most of us, that it also had great political advantages. So far the Legion has been singularly free of the control of any machine. We have never had any Legion politics, and we feared that if we should have a Vice-Commander in the Northwestern district, say, he might be able to consolidate himself."

Mr. Vernon of Minnesota spoke in favor of the district plan. It would enable Vice-Commanders to increase their usefulness to the organization. He asked Mr. Wood to read the minority report on this question, which was done. The convention listened to this with interest and patience, but it was plainly disappointed over the delay on the political restrictions issue. That was the big thing.

Shortly before the adjournment that day Chairman Wood reappeared on the stage at the Hippodrome. The "Legion and labor" question had been under heated discussion for more than an hour. The delegates settled themselves and restored quiet to the theater. Experienced Wood looked weary. The strain of long hours of committee-room struggle was stamped on his countenance. It invested him with the interesting air of one who bears tidings from a field of fray.

"We had hoped," began Wood's familiar voice, "to be able to give you the details of the position of our committee on the question of political restrictions, but we have been unable to reach an accord." There was a low murmur of

disappointment. The labor question had left the convention in mood for excitement. "A majority of the committee," Wood went on, "is opposed to any political restrictions." The speaker was halted by applause. "A very considerable portion," he continued, "constituting at least a respectable minority, desire either an amendment, or an interpretation covering three points: First, the permissibility of organizations of the Legion sending questionnaires to political candidates; second, the desirability of striking from our constitution the words 'absolutely non-political'; and third, striking out of the words 'or posts' where we state that no one who is a candidate or holder of a paid elective office shall be an officer in the National Headquarters or in any department or post of the Legion. That report will be brought you tomorrow by a minority of your committee."

This portion of the report was received in silence and Chairman Wood departed. Not until the afternoon of the third and last day of the convention did he reappear. Down the line of suggested amendments which had been read the day before he went. Commanders and Vice-Commanders ineligible for re-election; Commanders made life members of Executive Committee; and so on. All were approved by the convention, and this more than once with some show of impatience. The delegates wished to hasten to grips with the big thing, the thing which had concerned all America for many months, to wit: Politics. Minnesota's district Vice-Commander plan received short shrift despite an able presentation. The majority report was adopted and Minnesota lost.

"The most acute and important question which came before your committee this year," resumed Mr. Wood, when that was settled, "was that of political restriction. When our committee met there were present nearly forty members and nearly all of them have most determined convictions on this question. There were thirteen members who were absolutely bound by conscience or instructions to insist

upon one or more amendments to that article of the constitution. There were eighteen or twenty who were equally insistent that no action should be taken and there were six or eight who held views at divergence with the two already mentioned. . . .

"The final vote was thirty-three for the majority and three for the minority report. Both the majority and the minority reports contain clauses that we are unalterably opposed to any amendment to the clause on political restriction. The majority report has appended to it an explanation of that clause which is in accordance, as we remembered it, with the original intention of that clause. In order that you may fairly receive both reports your chairman decided to present neither report himself but to allow the majority and minority each to select its own speaker."

There were cheers as Past National Commander Henry D. Lindsley came forward to present the majority report. It is an important document. It passed the convention's most important committee by a vote of thirty-three to three. I quote it in full:

Whereas, the national constitution of the American Legion contains the following language:

"The American Legion shall be absolutely non-political and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles"; and

Whereas, the national charter of the American Legion provides that the organization shall be non-political and, as an organization, shall not promote the candidacy of any person seeking public office; and

Whereas, the intent of Congress as reflected by the qualifying words "and as an organization shall not promote the candidacy of any person seeking public office" does not deprive the Legion from supporting and promoting policies and principles clearly within the purposes of the organization as defined by the preamble to its national constitution, but is to prevent the Legion from ever becoming a political organization; and

Whereas, our national constitution must be construed in conjunction with and in the light of our national charter, our primary fundamental law; now therefore be it

Resolved, by the American Legion in National Convention assembled, that the Legion is not prohibited by its constitution and charter from supporting and promoting those policies and principles within the purposes enumerated in the preamble to its national constitution, as inter-

preted by acts of its National Conventions and rulings of its National Executive Committee; and be it further

Resolved, that the Legion through its organization has the right under its charter and constitution to ascertain for the information of its members the attitude of candidates for public office toward such policies and principles.

"Very briefly, my comrades," continued Mr. Lindsley, "I wish to express my opinion that this is a tremendously clarifying resolution. I have found that this convention is almost unanimously of the opinion that the American Legion shall never become a political organization or be used to further the political aspirations of any man. If it were to go forward today that the Legion had repealed or modified this stand the death-knell of the Legion would have been sounded. My friends, the adoption of this clarifying resolution, reaffirming with all of its power that the American Legion is forever opposed to becoming a political organization, will be heralded by many throughout this land as one of the greatest things this convention could do."

There was applause when Lindsley finished, and more applause when Boyle of Maine arose to submit the findings of the minority, which follow:

We beg leave to submit a minority report recommending that the resolution as read be not adopted.

James L. Boyle, Maine.
B. M. Deavours, Mississippi.
Tom Poe, Arkansas.

"Our constitution is brief," said Mr. Boyle. "It says the American Legion shall be absolutely non-political and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles or for the promotion of the candidacy of any person seeking public office. It says each member shall do his full duty as a citizen according to his own conscience and understanding. What more do we want? Our constitution says we are non-political. Go no further."

Kane of Missouri followed. He insisted the majority report would "draw the American Legion upon the political seas" and his words brought cheers. "I heartily agree that

the Legion should not go into politics," he said. "In Missouri we have settled it this way: When there are two candidates running for office and one is an ex-service man and he is qualified to hold the office, we, not as members of the American Legion, but individually, intend to vote for him."

Hagan of Oklahoma supported the report of the majority. "It is not an enlarging resolution," he declared. "It is a restrictive resolution. We have found that the political restrictions clause of our constitution is being interpreted differently in practically every State. We have found in department after department that questionnaires are being sent out to candidates to find how they stood on certain legislation. We found that the national organization itself had asked department commanders to send out questionnaires on subjects connected with beneficial legislation. We found that a great number of departments thought this was unconstitutional. The public will inevitably get that idea if the minority report is adopted, and every politician will think he can flout the American Legion with impunity."

Delegate Causey of Virginia observed that the majority's "clarifying" resolution "made it clear as Powder River after a three-hour rain." Leigh Rovzar of Mexico asserted the non-political nature of the Legion had made possible the organization's development in foreign lands and that a change in this attitude would do serious harm to such outposts. Francis Drake of France in effect said the same. M. K. Gordon of Kentucky upheld the minority decision and Ullman of Alabama declared "this innocent-looking reservation may be used as a cloak under which things far more serious than we now foresee may creep into our order and sow seeds of dissension." Miss Price of West Virginia announced that in November she hoped to cast her first ballot, but that this should be no criterion for the Legion. The Legion, she said, should stay out of politics, and she felt that this could best be done by voting down the majority report.

Pro and con went the debate, but the trend of the speeches and the applause indicated clearly that the majority report did not find on the convention floor the support it had enjoyed in the committee which conceived it. McGuire of Nebraska spoke as one defending a lost cause when he asked, "How are you going to carry out the policies enunciated by the American Legion unless you take active part, and unless you follow the interpretation of the majority report?"

"As citizens!" shouted an unidentified delegate and the house yelled its approval. The previous question was moved amid confusion. Mr. D'Olier banged his gavel monotonously, repeating that Eric Fisher Wood wished to make a brief statement. But the house did not wish to hear. It wanted to vote. The previous question was carried and the roll was called on the motion to adopt the majority report, which was lost, 963 to 142. A great demonstration followed. It was prolonged when Henry D. Lindsley moved that the vote be made unanimous. This was done, and the convention, with a concluding whoop, relaxed to hear Madame E. Guerin convey a message of thanks from the French orphans.

In this emphatic manner the Legion spoke its mind on the subject of political participation. It transpired in the unreal atmosphere of a "political year," and on the eve of a presidential election that stirred partisan passions and suspicions to an extraordinary pitch. It had been heralded and dreaded as the great crisis, the Armageddon, the decisive test of Legion faith. It may have been so. Again, it may have been a tilt at a windmill.

I believe there are many who have not ceased to wonder why the term politics necessarily should connote that which is sinister or unclean. Do not the processes we know as politics (not partisanship) constitute the only avenue to government? Will the Legion ultimately deal with these problems under the terms of a sort of Legion common law—unwritten—the slow crystallization of practice, custom and

precedent? Or will it be a written law settled upon at one stroke by a convention resolution? Or did the stroke at Cleveland settle it for good and all? The subject has its ramifications and this writer is frankly in a state of doubt.

To return to the sessions at the Hippodrome: The apprehensions of the year just past were reflected once more in the spirited debate which revolved about the advisability of the convention renewing a declaration of the Legion's often-proclaimed stand of neutrality in disputes between capital and labor.

As in the political issue, there was unanimity in agreement on the principle itself, but the majority of the Committee on Resolutions reported that a fresh statement on the subject would be superfluous. A minority resolution was brought to the floor, however, declaring "the American Legion reiterates its well-known position that it has no participation in the controversies between capital and labor when it conducts itself, as we believe it always does, in conformity with law and order." Several speakers called the resolution unnecessary. Others favored it, asserting that the Legion's position on this subject could not be overstressed, and presently the whole convention was drawn into the debate.

Delegate Francis of Minnesota related the experience of the Legion in his State, where, he said, for many months it had been impossible for a labor union member to retain his union card if he were a member of the Legion. He told how Legion leaders had appeared before the union officials, explained the Legion's position and won the endorsement of the unions. Edward F. Bassett* of Montana declared the Legion had experienced much embarrassment in his

* Bassett was a miner. Before the war he was an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World. He entered the Army under protest but became an excellent soldier. Following his discharge he joined the Legion movement in his State and organized Silver Bow Post at Butte. He was instrumental in combatting radicalism and inducing many of his former I. W. W. colleagues to forswear radical doctrines and join the Legion. Shortly after the Cleveland convention, Bassett died heroically, underground. He placed his back against a steam-pipe which had burst and shouted to his fellow-workers to flee. They escaped injury while Bassett was slowly scalded to death.

State because of a misinterpretation of its stand on industrial clashes. The Montana State Federation of Labor, he said, had blacklisted the Legion and endorsed another veterans organization. He asked the convention "to back up our Commander, Mr. D'Olier, with the statement that we are neutral."

Finally the wording of the resolution was declared offensive to labor, and Fred F. Bebergall, a union printer, Adjutant of the California Department, moved that the convention adopt the "statement recently issued by our National Commander as the Legion's declaration of its position in relation to organized labor." This was done with enthusiasm, but without specific reference to any particular statement of the Commander's. Mr. D'Olier had stated on several occasions that the Legion would be neutral in industrial disputes; that its members would act only for the protection of law, lives and property; that its members, whether employers or employees, were free to follow the dictates of their own interests and consciences.

The convention's reaffirmation of its determination to make its work for the sick and wounded a primary aim was contained in a comprehensive program of recommended improvements. The most important suggestion was that a new Cabinet officer be appointed to have direct control over all Government agencies dealing with the disabled.

The convention declared with determination that the Legion should press ahead in its fight for justice to all veterans by continuing to champion before Congress the adjusted compensation bill which had passed the House. It recorded itself in favor of all four provisions of this bill.

The convention unanimously declared the Legion's intention to give continued support to the new Army plan provided for by the Army reorganization act of June 4, 1920. It expressed its belief that the success of the National Guard and Organized Reserve under that bill depends largely on the co-operation of the American Legion, and

pledged support for the recruiting and the maintenance of these forces at their proper standards. It urged the separation of the Air Service from the Army and Navy and the creation of a new government department of aëronautics headed by a Cabinet officer.

Emphatic disapproval of "the failure and neglect" of the War Department, the Department of Labor and other Federal agencies to take steps for the deportation of aliens convicted or interned as enemies of the Government during the war, and to obtain full enforcement of the sentences of persons convicted under the draft and espionage laws, was registered in a resolution that also demanded the publication of the names of alien slackers and draft evaders.

The report of the convention Committee on Americanism was adopted after a lively debate on a single feature —the recommendation dealing with Japanese immigration.

The committee merely reaffirmed the resolution adopted at Minneapolis the previous year: "That we go on record as being in favor of the cancellation of the so-called 'gentlemen's agreement,' exclusion of 'picture brides,' and the rigorous exclusion of Japanese as immigrants; that we enter a vigorous protest against the demand of Japan that naturalization rights be granted to its nationals now located in the United States, and that we earnestly request the State Department of the United States in its settlement of this question not to consider any proposition which will grant rights of naturalization to this unassimilable people."

New York objected, and asked that the resolution be voted down and a committee be appointed to report on the subject to the next convention. There were signs of some support for this attitude in various delegations; but the Pacific coast, joined by the Southern delegations, raised such a storm that New York withdrew its motion, and the resolution was adopted.

The election of officers was as usual the last business of the convention. On the nominating roll call Matt Murphy

of Alabama presented Hanford MacNider of Iowa, and the applause that followed was an indication of the Iowan's strength. Arizona yielded to Washington, which seconded MacNider's nomination. Arkansas gave way to Ohio, and Gilbert Bettman nominated Frederic W. Galbraith, jr.

Colorado endorsed MacNider. Delaware yielded to Texas and Lindsley seconded the nomination of Galbraith. Iowa stood by its native son, and Henry J. Ryan, the sailor orator of Massachusetts, presented the name of John F. J. Herbert. James G. Scrugham pledged Nevada for Galbraith; Tennessee seconded Herbert's nomination.

The result of the first ballot was Galbraith, 533; MacNider, 337; Herbert, 233; Arthur Woods, of New York, 1; not voting or absent, 4. A majority, or 553 votes, was necessary to elect. A second ballot was ordered.

Before the roll call was completed it was evident that Galbraith had picked up far more than the twenty votes he lacked of a majority on the first ballot, and before the result was announced MacNider moved and Herbert seconded the motion that the election be made unanimous. The final vote was Galbraith, 686; MacNider, 275; Herbert, 145; Woods, 1; not voting 1.

The National Vice-Commanders selected were Thomas Goldingay of Newark, New Jersey, Claudius G. Pendill of Kenosha, Wisconsin, John G. Emery of Grand Rapids, Michigan, J. G. Scrugham of Reno, Nevada, and E. J. Winslett of Dadeville, Alabama. The Rev. John W. Inzer of Mobile, Alabama, was elected National Chaplain.

The convention had its less serious side, both in and out of the Hippodrome theater where the sessions took place; in fact, at Cleveland the tendency to make a National Convention partake of the playground as well as the workshop received considerable impetus.

Thirty thousand visitors were in town, and the parade was a great attraction. There was lark and frolic in sufficient measure, and *La Société des 40 Hommes et 8 Cheveaux,*

which has been adopted as the official playground of Legiondom, made its bow. One hundred and ten *voyageurs* came from Philadelphia in three box cars done over in the *mode français*. The 40/8 made its first appearance at the Pennsylvania State convention at Allentown that year, where it was such a success that it set out to capture the National Convention—which it did without any doubt.

Admiral Grant of the British Navy, General Fayolle of the French Army, and Major-General Leonard Wood, U. S. A., addressed the convention. President Wilson, Marshal Foch and General Pershing were among those who sent their greetings. To the President the convention responded with a wish for the speedy return of his health.

The record of the Cleveland convention, with its significant declaration concerning political activity, was not a day old when the Legion faced what looked for a moment like a new test of strength on the same issue. The National Executive Committee meeting which followed the convention served to re-emphasize the Legion's position with reference to matters which touch the domain of party politics and political affiliation. This came about when the committee considered the case of Louis F. Post, then Assistant Secretary of Labor.

On August 7th, 1920, Mr. D'Olier appointed a committee of three to investigate the charges brought against this official in the report of the House of Representatives Sub-committee on Immigration. These alleged that Mr. Post had refused to enforce the laws relating to the deportation of aliens taken for preaching the overthrow of the Government. The action was taken as a part of the Legion's activity against advocates of dangerous radicalism. The members of the Legion committee were M. K. Gordon of Kentucky, Wilbur C. Hall of Virginia, and Crampton Harris of Alabama. Gordon is a Republican and Hall and Harris are Democrats. The committee members assembled in Washington, elected Gordon their chairman and proceeded

with their investigation, rendering a report which Mr. Gordon read to the Executive Committee on September 30th.

The report set forth that the law provides that the Secretary of Labor on his warrant may deport to the country from which they came aliens lawfully admitted to the United States who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force of the Government of the United States; who disbelieve in or are opposed to organized government; who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property, or who are members of any organization which entertains a belief in, teaches or advocates any of the foregoing.

Application for a warrant of deportation may be made by any citizen to the Secretary of Labor, who issues the warrant if satisfied proper cause exists. The committee found it to be the practice of Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson to leave deportation questions entirely in the hands of Assistant Secretary Post. When Mr. Post took office he assumed jurisdiction over about two thousand cases in which aliens had been arrested and held for deportation on warrants procured from the Secretary of Labor by the Department of Justice. These arrests, observed the committee, had been made "in an effort to break up a world-wide movement for the forcible overthrow of established government. Mr. Post states that in his opinion no such serious movement existed in reality, but that there was a systematic newspaper campaign to deceive the public, financed by great interests to create a psychological condition from which he intimated the American Legion might now be suffering." Accordingly from January 1st to June 20th, 1920, 2,115 deportation warrants were canceled, and no deportations were made after Mr. Post took charge.

Mr. Post informed the committee that the Department of Justice was always notified of the hearings at which warrants were canceled. Officials of the Attorney General's office denied this. They told the committee that the

Department of Justice very rarely was represented at such hearings or given sufficient opportunity to introduce evidence against the accused. On the other hand the aliens usually had "adroit" counsel, and letters and affidavits of sympathizers were readily admitted as evidence in their favor. As an example of this character of evidence the committee produced a copy of the following telegram which had been sent personally to Mr. Post:

> Deportation may prove fatal to our friend. Urge you to interest yourself in the case. Special letter follows.
>
> EMMA GOLDMAN.

The law says a detained alien "may be admitted to bail in the sum of not less than five hundred dollars." Mr. Post, however, admitted them to bail without bond or surety and "as a result several cases were brought to the attention of the committee where undoubtedly dangerous aliens had been released and had escaped surveillance and deportation."

"The flagrant abuse of discretion on the part of Mr. Post," continued the report, "which has virtually nullified the real purpose and intent of the law providing for the deportation of undesirable aliens, is conclusively demonstrated from a review of some of the cases where deportation has been refused, and leads your committee to conclude that it is not an error of judgment but an attempt to negative an act of Congress, and is a most radical tendency inimical to the principles of Americanism."

In support of its contention, the committee cited several cases. A typical one is that of Paul Bosco, convicted during the war under the Espionage Act of the distribution of seditious literature and sentenced to ten years in Federal prison. At the time of his commitment Bosco declared he hoped on his release to find the red flag waving over this country; and proclaimed, when finally discharged from Atlanta, that his views remained unaltered. He was taken to New York and held for deportation. There several attorneys interceded in his behalf, among them Harry Weinberger,

counsel for Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and other important radicals. Weinberger adopted an arrogant attitude, writing the Department of Labor, "I want to make certain requests, and you may even consider them demands." Bosco's case was re-opened, and Mr. Post canceled the deportation warrant.

"We submit, therefore," concluded the report, "that Mr. Post disregarded recommendations of inspectors and the Commissioner General of Immigration and introduced technicalities, every one of which operated for the benefit of the alien and against the United States. We were much impressed by the concern Mr. Post felt for the rights of the alien, but we did not hear from him a single expression for the rights of the United States. . . . Mr. Post has practically nullified the deportation laws. . . . We do not believe he will ever give reasonable enforcement to our deportation laws. We, therefore, recommend that the National Commander of the American Legion take all necessary steps to procure the dismissal of Louis F. Post as Assistant Secretary of Labor."

The Executive Committee had listened with rapt attention to Mr. Gordon's reading. With a presidential election six weeks off it was recommended that the American Legion demand the removal of an assistant to a Cabinet officer. The first speaker was a Democrat from the West. He said the investigating committee's report impigned on dangerous ground; that any action the Executive Committee might take would be construed as political, as either a defense or a criticism of President Wilson's administration. This should be avoided, he declared. He moved that the report of the Gordon committee be tabled.

Joe Morrison of Arkansas was on his feet. "Mr. Chairman," he said, "if this state of affairs exists, why dodge the issue simply because of the election? We are not concerned with the election. We are concerned with rectifying a state of facts. It is a crime if they exist. The Legion has abso-

lutely no concern in politics . . . but if this does have a bearing on the fall election the party that is responsible for this condition ought to suffer." This brought cheers. Mr. Morrison had spoken fearlessly. He was a member of the political party which was waging the fight of its life to continue in power.

Emmet O'Neal of Kentucky was recognized. "I come from a Southern State," he said. "I am a Democrat. I am a great admirer of the President, but I heartily agree with the gentleman from Arkansas. We have no right as an American Legion to temporize or smooth this thing over."

There was more applause. R. G. Storey of Texas was next. "I also come from the South and am in hearty accord with the sentiments of the gentleman from Arkansas," said he. "Our constitution provides that we associate ourselves together for God and Country and the quicker we get rid of these radicals the better our country will be."

Dr. A. A. Van Dyke, committeeman from Minnesota, rose to say he wished to correct the impression that all Democrats came from the South. "Regardless of the political situation," he declared, "this matter is up to us. We have no right to side-step or fall down." J. Monroe Johnson of South Carolina said the Post matter would stand as an indictment of the Democratic party only if the Democrats of the American Legion permitted action to be postponed. "We don't want it postponed," he shouted; "we want it pushed with all possible vigor."

This sort of talk put heart into the Executive Committee. A resolution was adopted concurring in the Gordon committee's report and calling for the removal of Assistant Secretary Post. Commander Galbraith created a committee, headed by Henry D. Lindsley of Texas, to lay the matter before President Wilson.

This committee met in Washington on October 15th, and verified every detail of the Gordon committee's report. At the Department of Justice an Assistant Attorney General

admitted to Roy Hoffman of the Lindsley committee that "the arm of the Government had been virtually paralyzed by the actions of Mr. Post." Mr. Hoffman asked what was to be done and the Assistant Attorney General replied:

"Either Mr. Palmer (the Attorney General) or Mr. Wilson (the Secretary of Labor) should be called upon to resign!"

The President was ill, and the matter was automatically referred to Secretary Wilson, from whom nothing was heard until January 20th, 1921, when the Secretary issued a statement declaring Mr. Post "had faithfully carried out his instructions, and I am satisfied ranks amongst the ablest and best administrative officers in the Government service."

The incident was formally closed at the National Executive Committee's meeting in Washington in February of 1921. Mr. Lindsley reported the result of the efforts of his committee, and the Executive Committee authorized a formal statement that the "extravagantly-worded eulogy" of Secretary Wilson "does not in any way answer or refute a single one of the charges against Mr. Post."

"On the contrary, it is entirely unresponsive and evasive of the issue," continued the Legion's declaration. "As the matter stands now the record which is on file with the American Legion and with the Executive department of the Government, open to public inspection, contains convincing proof of Mr. Post's guilt—of which no adequate defense has been made or attempted. Since this unworthy official will automatically pass out of public office on the 4th of March the American Legion does not deem it necessary to take any further action in the matter, but rather rests its case before the bar of public opinion, secure in the knowledge that its action is abundantly justified by the facts and conscious that it has fully performed its patriotic duty."

OHIO CARRIES THE COLORS AT CLEVELAND, 1920

CHAPTER XIII

GALBRAITH'S GREAT VICTORY FOR THE DISABLED

MR. D'OLIER returned to Philadelphia immediately after the post-convention Executive Committee meeting, picked up his trunks, which were already packed, and six days later was on the Pacific ocean bound for a long holiday in Japan. The new Commander, Mr. Galbraith, went from Cleveland to his business office in New York and devoted a week of hard labor to an analysis of the issues confronting the Legion during the year ahead. Then he went to Indianapolis to inspect the machinery he must use to accomplish whatever he should set out to do.

In consultation with Mr. Bolles and others he worked out the personnel of the new national committees and defined the main objectives of the administration. These were disabled legislation and adjusted compensation legislation, in the order named, and the extension of the work of the Americanism Commission which should give special attention to immigration, education and the general propagation of the ideals of better citizenship.

There was, of course, a multitude of other things, but these three were to be the keystone accomplishments. The vigor and clarity with which Mr. Galbraith outlined his aims, the wealth of thought he had bestowed upon them, the keen perception, the enthusiasm, the intense sincerity which amounted to zeal of a crusader-like character, the open mind and rugged, pointed speech of the new Commander made a vivid impression on his official family.

Mr. Galbraith returned to New York to organize his executive forces. He distinguished sharply between the executive and administrative functions of the organization. Indianapolis, he said, was ideally situated for purposes of national administration. Executive direction, on the other hand, could best be exercised from New York. This, he

said, he had learned from his private business. So the executive headquarters of the Legion were established in New York, Mr. Galbraith meeting the expenses of their maintenance, which were considerable.

When the Commander returned from Boston where he had spoken on Armistice day he summoned me to his office.

"What do you think of this publicity?" he said, handing me a roll of Boston newspapers.

There were pictures on the front pages: Galbraith receiving his victory medal; Galbraith delivering a speech; Galbraith meeting distinguished personages. His speeches received favorable space, good headlines, with pertinent sentences emphasized in display boxes. It was what a newspaperman would call a good play. I told the Commander so.

"Well, you may call it a good play, but I don't," he replied. "The thing I wanted to emphasize down in Boston was the needs of our disabled, and I didn't get it across. You will notice they printed about everything I said except when I talked of the disabled, and that is what I wanted to get into the headlines. Now I blame no one for this but myself. The reason what I said about the disabled didn't get across was because it wasn't interesting to the public. Newspaper reporters know their job. They write what the public wants to read."

It was comforting to hear the Commander say that. One of the reasons why publicity men grow old before their time is the difficulty they experience in convincing those for whom they work that unless a thing is intrinsically interesting to the average person it is useless to try to get an editor to print it. It is not easy to make folks realize that not one person in one hundred thousand says or does anything once a year worth relating outside his own community or outside a comparatively small circle of individuals. Almost any subject and many happenings, however, can by special treatment be given the interesting twist which makes

them newspaper "copy." The application of this twist is where publicity headwork comes in.

"Now, this disabled situation is what we're going into to clean up first," he continued. "We have a tremendous job ahead of us. I don't see it all clearly just yet, but this I know—we've got to junk the entire governmental machinery now dealing with the disabled and create a new machine in its place. As to the details of the new machine, that I don't know yet. I have a lot of experts at work and I'm working myself. We can cross that bridge when we come to it. What I am certain of now is that the War Risk Insurance Bureau, the Federal Board of Vocational Training and the Public Health Service, in so far as they concern veteran relief, must go. You know how hard it is to root up a Government bureau. It requires a national issue to do it, a national issue backed by a nation's insistence.

"That's what we're going to make of this disabled matter. It's dead now, about as dead as a door-nail. My Boston experience taught me that. We've got to bring it to life. We've got to get it into the newspapers."

"Then we'll have to do some striking things," I remarked. "We'll have to be sensational."

"Agreed," said Galbraith. "We'll be striking, as you call it, and we'll be sensational. We'll pull this disabled problem out of the pigeon-holes of three Washington bureaus and put it on the front page of every newspaper in America. We'll go the limit to do it, but we won't go outside the facts. From what I know of the situation there will be no need of that. The facts are bad enough; they are a disgrace to the country, and I'm going to parade that disgrace before one hundred million people. Then what will be the repercussion? Why, the people will be shocked. They will say, 'These conditions are terrible. We never dreamed such things could be. What can we do to set them right?' By that time the constructive part of our program will have been definitely worked out, and the Legion will step forward

and say, 'Do this, and this, and that, and that.' And it will be done.

"Now, I shall go out and make some more speeches. They will be a different sort from those I made in Boston. They will make people—and even your hard-boiled newspaper friends—sit up and listen. I want you to get busy and get the facts of the most sensational examples you can find of neglect of the disabled. But I want facts, facts capable of instant proof. Get this stuff in the *Weekly*, get it out over the country through your publicity organization. Never pass up a bet to link the name of the Legion with the revelation of the disgraceful conditions which surround our disabled. Do this and we'll witness a remarkable change in the atmosphere in the next sixty days."

The tributes which have been paid the abilities of the late Commander Galbraith are numerous. In addition to those most frequently mentioned, I should like to add that he was the best publicity man for a cause that the writer has seen in action since the days of Theodore Roosevelt, the elder, and the Progressive party. Perhaps I should say champion, rather than publicity man; but publicity was what the Commander called it. "Barn-storming the country" was another expression he used.

Mr. Galbraith struck at hospital conditions first. They were appalling. In November of 1920 there were about 15,000 veterans in hospitals and the number was increasing by 2,500 a month. Not a new hospital had been constructed since the Armistice. Half of the 15,000 were not in Government-controlled institutions, but were bound out to State, municipal and private places operated for profit. Neglected and destitute veterans, bedridden from wounds and disease contracted in service, were being driven to seek refuge in insane asylums, almshouses and even jails, so derelict and incompetent were the Government agencies of relief.

Mr. Galbraith placed these facts before the public in the most dramatic manner possible. The crowds which

JOHN THOMAS TAYLOR

thronged to hear him wherever he went were but a small part of those who were informed of the conditions which Galbraith revealed. The newspapers carried columns of it. Mr. Galbraith had sample speeches written and distributed for local Legion leaders to use in arousing the local populaces.

Tuberculous veterans were flocking West, usually arriving without funds. The Legion was already caring for thousands. A report came that four hundred and fifty such men were sleeping in the open in Tucson, Arizona. Within an hour Mr. Galbraith was talking over the long distance telephone to Director Cholmeley-Jones of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, then in charge of hospitalization.

"Why this condition?" he demanded.

Mr. Cholmeley-Jones explained that there were no hospital facilities available in Tucson.

"Is there any place within reasonable distance where these men can go for government treatment for tuberculosis?" asked Mr. Galbraith.

There was no such place.

"When will there be a hospital in Tucson, then?"

It was impossible to say. The Director pointed out the intricacies of government procedure required for such steps.

"You mean that this Government, which is spending annually hundreds of millions of dollars supposedly for the care of the disabled, can do nothing for four hundred and fifty penniless, homeless and sick soldiers who are sleeping on the ground in December?" demanded Galbraith.

Mr. Cholmeley-Jones went on to explain how his hands were tied by foolish regulations. Nothing could be done for the men but get them back to their homes and redistribute them to hospitals as rapidly as regulations would permit.

"Do that and most of those men will die," said Mr. Galbraith. "Their spirit will be broken. They went West believing it would benefit them. I know the climatic factor in tubercular cases is greatly exaggerated, but these men don't know it and they are in no humor now to believe it.

If you can send physicians and nurses to Tucson to care for these men, and a hospital expert or so to direct matters, the American Legion will build a hospital in Tucson. At least it will put a roof over the heads of these men and provide the facilities for some sort of treatment until better may be had."

Mr. Cholmeley-Jones said he would have his nurses and experts in Tucson in a week. Galbraith said he would have his representative on the job before that.

The Commander wired Vice-Commander E. Jackson Winslett, at Dadeville, Alabama, to start West. Telegrams to the Arizona Department of the Legion, the Mayor of Tucson, the Governor of Arizona and to Western newspapers gave advance information of what was afoot.

Winslett arrived and saw the Mayor, who agreed to call a mass meeting. The meeting was widely advertised and the whole town turned out. Winslett can make a good speech, and he made a good one on that occasion. He appealed to the citizens of Tucson to follow the leadership of the local post of the Legion and build a temporary hospital. A resolution was adopted that this should be done, and a day set apart by municipal proclamation to start the work. City construction was suspended and the workmen assigned to transforming an old amusement park structure into a hospital. The Governor of Arizona issued a proclamation making it a State affair, and sent engineers and builders. Governor Campbell, the Mayor and the first citizens of Tucson turned out in overalls to lend a hand on the opening day. The government nurses and doctors arrived, and within three weeks the men were in the new hospital. Their previous condition, by the way, had not been quite as serious as had been reported. Few of the men were actually sleeping on the ground; most of them being cared for by local charities.

The Tucson episode went far toward awakening sentiment in the West. In the East Mr. Galbraith himself turned his guns on the Markleton hospital in Pennsylvania, which was closed to veterans after his exposé. The Com-

mander worked sixteen hours a day. Every force in the Legion was bent toward one thing, and that was to place before the American public a picture of the shocking plight of disabled veterans.

Mr. Galbraith kept a close watch of newspaper clippings from every State. With increasing satisfaction and enthusiasm he regarded the success of his campaign as reflected by the columns of space given his disclosures. When editorials began to appear inquiring what should be done to remedy the evil, he declared that the moment had come to conclude the campaign to arouse public sentiment to an appreciation of conditions and to begin the campaign in favor of specific measures of remedy. It was decided to attempt this in a public manifesto which should at once lay the case before President Wilson, President-elect Harding, the Congress and the public. Mr. Galbraith handed me a file of data which was the result of painstaking study and research by a corps of experts who had been at work under the Commander's direction.

I went to Indianapolis and got in touch with Gerald Murphy, head of the Service Division of Headquarters, the best informed man in the Legion on the disabled question. We worked out a lengthy, yet I think concise document, entitled "A Memorial from the American Legion to the President, the President-elect, the Congress and the People of the United States, Directing Attention to the Situation which Surrounds the Rehabilitation of Disabled Ex-Service Men and Suggesting a Remedy." The draft was delivered to Mr. Galbraith, who had it scrutinized by specialists of medicine, surgery, hospitalization, and federal administration.

On January 9th, 1921, John Thomas Taylor of the Legislative Committee delivered a copy of the memorial to President Wilson; Commander Galbraith presented a copy to Senator Harding at Marion, Ohio; each Senator and Congressman found one in his morning mail, and every newspaper in the United States carried a digest of the document

which had been distributed in advance by the Associated Press and other news agencies. The memorial summarized the general situation in these words:

The United States has been more liberal than any other nation in its provisions for the disabled who gave their health and strength in their country's service in the late war, but through legislative and administrative deficiencies has failed in a large measure to make those provisions available.

There has been lack of vision and foresight in our preparation which has been without excuse, as before us was the experience of other nations in the recent war and the experience of this Nation in previous wars. The situation at our doors today, with the suffering, the shameful neglect and the injustice to the disabled that it entails, would not exist if reasonable foresight had been exercised or if the recommendations of those who did foresee had been heeded. A tardy start, with no clear conception of the magnitude of the problem before us, imposed an initial handicap.

The handicap is continued by an astonishing state of divided responsibility and wasted effort among the government agencies with which the problem rests. In the rehabilitation of a disabled man there are three needs—medical treatment, vocational training and financial support. The Government has recognized the three needs but overlooks the fact that they are the simultaneous needs of one man, and not of three different men or of one man at three different times. It makes three problems out of what really is one three-part problem. Continuing this faulty conception, it has given the problem over to three agencies—the Public Health Service for treatment, the Federal Board for Vocational Education for training, the Bureau of War Risk Insurance for financial support. Each of these agencies is an institution complete in itself. Each is administratively independent of the other two. All by force of circumstances are exercising functions they were not intended to exercise. This presents an amazing spectacle of administrative chaos, duplication, wasted energy and conflict which is the key to the present condition.

The result is the suffering of the disabled veterans. Thousands are waiting and have waited for months for compensation for their injuries. Thousands have waited for months for an opportunity to re-establish themselves as self-sustaining members of society by vocational training. Thousands are in need of hospitalization and the Government has no hospital facilities available for them. Of the 20,000 now in hospital, 4,500 are quartered in institutions unsuited to the needs of the men quartered there. New hospital cases are developing at the rate of 1,500 a month in excess of the number discharged. Sixteen thousand beds are needed now. Hundreds of veterans are the objects of public and private charity. Afflicted and penniless veterans have been driven to refuge in almshouses and jails. Many have died and if immediate relief is not forthcoming more will die destitute, without proper medical care, without compensation

with which to obtain it, abandoned by the country they served. All this is attributable directly to the manner in which the Government has administered the affairs of the disabled.

Immediate relief and ultimate remedy of this condition is possible and imperative.

A minute examination of each of the three agencies followed. The memorial concluded with this statement concerning remedies:

From a scientific standpoint the functions of training, treatment and compensation must be combined. From an administrative standpoint the functions of the three agencies—the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the Public Health Service—must be co-ordinated, their machinery decentralized and all three placed under a common control. The disabled man has a right to deal with one agency, which shall take care of his physical, vocational and financial restoration.

To do this there must be a new law which shall physically consolidate and co-ordinate the activities of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and the Public Health Service, and place the unified organization under a single administrative head. The whole must be decentralized.

The unified organization should be provided at once with an appropriation sufficient to buy, build and enlarge hospitals to provide and maintain facilities ample to relieve the present situation with reference to hospitalization and to prevent its recurrence.

Bills providing for this reform have been introduced at the request of the American Legion in both houses of Congress.

Mr. Galbraith returned from Marion with the word that Mr. Harding had promised action as soon as he became President. The Commander had insisted on the line of action indicated by the Legion. The President-elect said the Legion's views would be given every consideration. The Commander later went to Florida and pressed this point with the President-elect, who directly after his inauguration announced the convocation of a special conference to draft definite recommendations.

The conference met in Washington on April 6th. It was a well-qualified body of sixteen members. Charles G. Dawes of Chicago was chairman. Legion members whose support of the Galbraith program could be counted on were

Milton J. Foreman, Theodore Roosevelt, Thomas W. Miller, Mr. D'Olier and Mr. Galbraith.

Commander Galbraith went to the hearings determined that the program he had spent six months in working out should at least have the benefit of competent advocacy. He carefully prepared in advance a list of witnesses he desired to call before the committee and an exhaustive list of questions to be asked each witness, the object being to assure the introduction of evidence which would illuminate the Legion plan.

The Legion program involved the subordination to a central authority of three hitherto independent government organizations, which meant depriving scores of bureau chiefs of the independent exercise of authority. The roots of government agencies run deep. They are difficult to dislodge. Mr. Galbraith knew this, and was prepared for a contest. The second item in his plan called for adequate appropriations for the construction of hospitals to be operated by the new consolidated organization. No great opposition on this point was foreseen.

Mr. Galbraith's advance precautions proved to be not unwise. Opposition to the consolidation project appeared as anticipated, but Mr. Galbraith was able to meet each objection so convincingly that at the end of the first session victory on this point seemed assured. Unexpected difficulties, however, sprang in the way of the hospital building program. The leader of this opposition was Brigadier-General Charles E. Sawyer, the White House physician, who served on the committee as the President's personal representative and spokesman.

General Sawyer favored a less thoroughgoing plan of consolidation than that put forth by Mr. Galbraith. He conceived the care of disabled veterans as an incident in a larger plan which he was then urging on the President, namely, a projected Department of Public Welfare, the head of which should have a place in the Cabinet. On the hospital issue General Sawyer took a stand which in the

course of later events has gained him considerable prominence. He contended that no such number of additional beds was needed as the Legion asked for. He pointed to the testimony of representatives of the Army, the Navy and the Public Health Service who had declared some 11,000 beds to be vacant in institutions under their control. The Legion brought out that most of these beds were either vacant through the normal course of hospital administration, or were in war-time buildings of temporary construction, or were unsuited to the needs of the mental and tubercular patients who constituted the greatest problems of rehabilitation.

The discussion had grown spirited when Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, former chief psychiatrist of the A. E. F. and an international authority on mental diseases, interjected:

"We are confusing this, somewhat. We are talking about hospitals much as we would about stables and garages. An ordinary hospital bed is not suitable for the hospitalization of mental and tubercular cases. There may be 11,000 beds in the Army and Navy hospitals today but I doubt if they would hospitalize one-half of the kind of people who require them. You might as well talk of relieving the housing situation with garages. We have not solved the urgent, burning hospitalization question by making a row of figures on a piece of paper."

General Sawyer clung to his figures. "I would like to correct Dr. Salmon on the hospital situation," he declared. "The idea he is trying to create before this board is altogether wrong—that psycho-neurosis cases require so great a different treatment from the general medical treatment. Any bed is good enough for about ninety out of every hundred patients."

The Legion's program prevailed, however. After sessions which continued over two days and evenings, the committee recommended the unification under one head of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, the Federal Board for Vocational Education and that part of the Public Health Service

concerned with the hospitalization of veterans. It further urged "a continuing hospital building program" with the necessary appropriations to be passed by the next Congress. It recommended that the $18,600,000 which the Legion had obtained from the previous Congress be used "without delay" for the construction of hospitals and that the allocation of this fund to separate projects be retained in the hands of the expert committee headed by Dr. William Charles White of Pittsburgh.

General Sawyer was the only member of the committee who declined to concur in the report. At his request his exception was noted in the record of the committee's proceedings. This marked the parting of the ways between the Legion and General Sawyer on the hospitalization issue and the inception of a long controversy in which the disabled veteran has been the real sufferer.

The President forwarded the Dawes conference recommendations to Congress with his approval. The Legion had written the necessary bills and had them before Congress. It continued its vigorous campaign to obtain their enactment into law, a campaign in which every state department and thousands of posts took part, bringing pressure upon their Senators and Congressmen. With the Legion fighting every step of the way this legislation went through. Eighteen million six hundred thousand dollars had been appropriated for new hospitals. The Veterans Bureau was then created, replacing the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the War Risk Insurance Bureau and that part of the Public Health Service concerned with veteran hospitalization.

It was the Legion's greatest legislative victory. It came, however, not as Commander Galbraith's triumph, but as his monument. In August, 1921, when the act which created the Veterans Bureau formally became a law, the man who had conceived it was dead.

GILBERT BETTMAN

CHAPTER XIV

THE VON MACH INCIDENT

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE was winding up a busy three-day session in Washington on the afternoon of February 9th, 1921, when a note was delivered to Commander Galbraith, who was taking a few minutes' recreation from the chair. The Commander took in its contents at a glance and handed it to me, saying:

"I remember this man. See him for me, convey my excuses and find out what he wants."

The message was written in strong, legible long-hand. It read:

> I am the large man with a red beard who introduced himself to you in the smoking compartment of a Pullman on a Pennsylvania railroad train leaving Cincinnati three weeks ago. I was impressed by the earnestness of your remarks concerning the need for betterment of the condition of disabled American soldiers. In this connection I should like very much to have a few minutes of your time to discuss a matter which may prove to be of service in this regard.
>
> EDMUND VON MACH.

The Committee was meeting in one of the ball-rooms of the Washington hotel. I was informed that the writer of the note was waiting in the lobby.

I had no difficulty identifying Edmund Von Mach by the description he had thoughtfully given of himself—a "large man with a red beard," perhaps fifty-five years of age, standing over six feet, of powerful physique, distinguished bearing, a strong, scholarly face bearing the preoccupied air of a man busy with great affairs, adorned with spectacles and a set of foreign-looking whiskers of a color that had been accurately described. It was a striking figure, one calculated to command more than passing notice even in the lobby of a fashionable hotel in the national capital.

I introduced myself and announced my mission. In

identifying myself I mentioned the nature of my connection with the Legion. This made a great impression. From the look on my caller's face, I could see that my occupation apparently disqualified me completely from acting in the business at hand.

"I am afraid there is a misunderstanding," said my visitor. "The matter which brings me here is not a proper subject for publicity at this moment. That will come later and it must be attended by great discretion. An incorrect initial impression might defeat the very ends we have set out to attain. This is a matter which I fear I can discuss advantageously only with Colonel Galbraith in person."

I renewed my statement that the Commander was presiding at an important session of the Executive Committee which would last several hours and that he could not leave. I said I came to Mr. Von Mach in this instance as Mr. Galbraith's personal emissary and not as a publicity representative. I produced the note and called the writer's attention to the reference to the disabled, remarking that I had been rather closely associated with the Commander during the disabled campaign, and believed my knowledge of the situation sufficient to enable me to receive and correctly interpret to the Commander any message or proposal Mr. Von Mach might have to offer.

My caller still hesitated. He insisted that his mission was most important and concerned the disabled in a special way that could be made clear only in a personal interview with the Commander. I reiterated that this was impossible at present, and after some further parley Mr. Von Mach consented to talk to me.

We moved to another part of the lobby and settled in comfortable chairs. Mr. Von Mach produced a pair of strong cigars and when these were lighted he fixed his keen eyes upon mine and began his amazing narrative. He talked for an hour without using an unnecessary word. I have heard few abler advocacies of a cause than that which Dr.

(I was soon to learn he held a German university degree) Von Mach made of his astounding proposal that the American Legion become a party to a two-edged conspiracy aimed first at the reconstruction and restoration to its former place of power in American public affairs of the once mighty German political machine, and second at driving a wedge between the United States and the Allies by alienating American public opinion from France and Great Britain.

That the American Legion of all organizations, and that Mr. Galbraith of all persons, should be approached with a proposal of this kind, however cleverly veiled, seems incredible. I wondered whether Commander Galbraith had been mistaken for a knave or a fool. I asked questions whenever I could in an attempt to induce my caller to further lengths of explicitness. It presently became apparent that Dr. Von Mach was not acting on his own initiative, but on instructions that he was endeavoring to carry out to the best of his ability—which was considerable.

He gave me the impression of a man who was staking everything on a single desperate throw. It must have been reasoned that the one obstacle, the one organization in the United States most likely to ruin the designs of those who were attempting to recapture American public sentiment for Germany was the American Legion. Hence an audacious attempt to involve and disarm this adversary at the outset. It was an extreme chance, but also an extreme plight, and the rewards of success were such as to justify the gamble. With the question of German reparations and indemnity reopened and at a critical stage, with a new American administration devoid of a definite foreign policy about to take power, the success of the Von Mach plan might have turned the international tide in Germany's favor, restoring by diplomatic cunning much of what Germany had lost by war.

Dr. Von Mach began by paying tributes to the work of the American Legion, tributes which revealed a knowledge and appreciation of the Legion's efforts and achievements

that surprised me. He stressed the work for the disabled. His enthusiasm for the Legion dated, he said, from a chance meeting with Mr. Galbraith on a train en route from Cincinnati to New York three weeks previously. It had not taken long to convince him that Mr. Galbraith was a remarkable man. The Legion was fortunate in having such a leader. He had the vision with which to see big things, the vigor and enthusiasm with which to realize them. Galbraith could make the Legion a power in the land.

This was true because the Legion represented all groups and factions. It was the common ground on which all men could stand and, forgetting petty differences and jealousies, contend for the big things which would make America truly a world leader among nations. Naturally, to maintain this position the Legion must be alert. There would be those who would attempt to sap its strength by injecting religious issues into the councils of the organization; those who would endeavor to divide the organization along industrial lines; those who would try to inflame group animosities by directing attention to racial antecedents.

The point last named was approached in a delicate and impressive manner. The Legion must continue to work, Dr. Von Mach assured me, as it had worked in the past to keep these groups together. It would mean a well-balanced Nation. Each group had its special concerns, each was vigilant for its special interests. This was a good thing for the United States. It made for truly representative government, for mutual tolerance of the rights of minorities.

In the recent war the United States had joined the world against Germany. Our action in entering that war did not have the unanimous endorsement of all sections of the American people, in particular the great and powerful group of citizens who were of German ancestry. They accepted the situation, however, and while perhaps not approving the war, they did their bit faithfully and loyally. In the Legion we would find many of German extraction who were as faith-

ABOARD THE LEGION'S FOCH SPECIAL

With the Marshal are General Pershing and Alton T. Roberts, Chairman of the Legion's Committee which received and entertained the distinguished visitors who went to Kansas City

ful and loyal to the tenets of the organization as their comrades of Irish, of English or of other ancestries.

The United States entered the war in defense of certain principles, certain ideals of civilization which the Allies had represented to be endangered; America did not go in to defend its soil or for conquest. The Allied cause had prevailed, largely due to the aid of American strength in arms. In the arrangement of the terms of peace, however, America had been denied a voice in any way commensurate with its contribution toward the winning of the war. As matters stood now, a little more than two years after the Armistice, the lofty principles of right and civilization which America fought to defend were being betrayed and disregarded on many hands.

To cite one example, an example which should appeal particularly to Americans, did I realize that the French had occupied the Rhine with uncivilized African negroes impressed into the French military service? No, perhaps not. The French censorship was responsible for that. The truth was that 40,000 of these troops were now in Germany, and their outrages against the peaceful civilian population had been unspeakable.

Of what he termed the "black horror on the Rhine," Dr. Von Mach painted a vivid and a terrible picture; a picture of a harmless citizenry held in the throes of a reign of terror by black savages; of homes looted and women ravished. French censorship and propaganda had kept news of the true state of affairs from the public, but he, Von Mach, had proofs of the truth of what he had said. He exhibited some of these proofs. They were in the form of cablegrams from Germans both in Berlin and in the Rhineland, addressed to George Sylvester Viereck, former von Bernstorff henchman and editor of the *Fatherland*. The cables were in German, but as translated by Dr. Von Mach they scarcely substantiated his story. Another bit of evidence was a pamphlet

written by an Englishman named Morel who was repressed during the war for his pro-German sympathies.

This "horror of the Rhine" must be exposed and stopped, declared Dr. Von Mach; every humane sentiment, every instinct of chivalry and of civilization demanded it. That a defeated foe should pay certain penalties was an unfortunate custom, sanctioned nevertheless by precedent; but no precedent in civilized history sanctioned the rape of innocent women as a part of the spoils of victory. Whether America's part in the war was right or wrong was for the moment of no consequence. That was past and gone. But these Rhine horrors existed today, and as they represented the greatest crime against civilization being committed in the world, America must speak as it did in 1917. It must speak for civilization as it meant to speak then, and demand that these atrocities cease and those responsible for them be punished.

To this end, continued Dr. Von Mach, an organization called the American Committee of Protest against the Horrors on the Rhine had been formed. It intended, in a series of extraordinary mass-meetings to be held in the principal cities of the country, to inform and inflame public sentiment. Ten thousand pamphlets setting forth the committee's position had already been printed in Cincinnati and were to be distributed as soon as public opinion had been sufficiently cultivated. A great national organization would be built up by capitalization of the emotions of resentment toward France created by the exposure of the Rhine conditions.

I asked a number of questions as to the persons behind this movement, the source of its funds, centers of activity, etc. Dr. Von Mach was guarded in his replies. He mentioned, however, a dozen German-Americans whose apathy or hostility to the war was common knowledge. The movement was centered in Cincinnati and New York and had its connections in Germany. So far a few wealthy German-Americans had put up most of the money. A few Irish-

Americans, noted for their hatred of England, also were represented among the contributors. The 10,000 pamphlets would be distributed with the hope of benefiting the movement's exchequer. The money contributed would be spent on propaganda; principally on the nation-wide series of mass meetings. Funds for the first meeting were already available.

The first of these great meetings, Dr. Von Mach went on, was to be held in Madison Square Garden in New York City, on February 28th. It would be a meeting of Americans; all groups, creeds and parties would be represented. It would visualize America, one Nation of many peoples, in protest against the crimes against humanity that were being committed on the Rhine. Among the speakers who had tentatively accepted, Dr. Von Mach said, were United States Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho; Representative Fred A. Britten, of Illinois; Mayor John F. Hylan and Justice Daniel F. Cohalan of New York. The committee in charge wanted the principal speaker to be one who could speak for all America, for all groups, and who would speak with true American vigor and courage. The choice had fallen on Colonel Galbraith.

Would he respond? Would he do America the great service and the American Legion the great service of addressing this gathering, news of which would go around the world?

My visitor concluded with a brief statement of what it would mean to the Legion. It would mean that hundreds of thousands of citizens—not of German extraction alone, but all others—would hail the Legion as the new champion of America's finest ideals. The columns of one hundred influential German newspapers for which Dr. Von Mach wrote would be open to our messages. Colonel Galbraith was a practical man as well as a fine idealist. Would not this new support be of the greatest benefit to the Legion in its fight for the disabled and its fight for adjusted compensation?

I said I would convey Dr. Von Mach's message to Commander Galbraith. I arranged to telephone the Commander's decision to the doctor at his hotel at 4 o'clock, and we parted.

The first thing I wanted to know was, Who is Edmund Von Mach? Judging from his pro-German associates I suspected he might have a "war" record, so I sent over to the Military Intelligence Department to see what they might have on him. Then I walked over to the National Press Club for a bite of late lunch. There I met an old friend, William E. Moore, now managing editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, whose Army service had in a way brought him in touch with disloyalist activities.

I sketched to Moore my interview with Von Mach, and added that I was not sure of the best course for the Legion to take. I was trying to think of some spectacular move to upset Von Mach's scheme in case investigation developed, as I suspected it would, that Von Mach was no person for the Legion to play ball with and that his Rhine horror business was a fake calculated to create an American sentiment for Germany at French expense. Moore said Von Mach had a significant record, which I could get; and that the Rhine horror story was false I could prove by the findings of recent Government investigations.

We were discussing ways and means of spilling the beans for Dr. Von Mach when Moore remarked:

"Why don't you bring Von Mach and Galbraith together? Get Von Mach to tell Galbraith the story he told you, and if Galbraith is the man I believe him to be he'll take our German friend by the seat of his pants and throw him out of the window. It would make a good story, and it would put a finish to this propaganda stunt."

I was back at our hotel in ten minutes. The report on Von Mach had arrived from the M. I. D. It was all that I had anticipated. My caller had been born and educated in Germany. He had served as a lieutenant in the

German army, and came to the United States twenty-five years ago. Up to 1914 he had been occupied mostly as a writer and lecturer on German culture. Then he began an ardent espousal of the German cause in the World War. He was associated with Ambassador von Bernstorff, whose remarkable propaganda was the biggest single factor in keeping the United States out of the war until 1917. He bitterly fought our entrance into the war, but when we went in he subsided and avoided internment, though his movements were closely watched. During the war he kept in touch with interests which were known to be sympathetic with Germany. Since the Armistice he was known to be identified with groups bent on spreading pro-German propaganda. The concluding entry in the report stated Von Mach's latest connection was with a group which planned the circulation of a sensational report on the conduct of French colonial troops on the Rhine.

I managed to call Commander Galbraith from the committee meeting and explain briefly what had transpired, concluding with what Moore had said. The Commander told me to have Von Mach in his room at 6 o'clock.

I telephoned Von Mach news of the appointment. I said I had been able to speak only briefly with Mr. Galbraith, and so I counted on him to go into detail as he had done with me earlier in the day.

I brought Dr. Von Mach to Mr. Galbraith's room and presented him. I turned to go, but the Commander motioned for me to take a seat.

"James tells me you desire that I speak at a mass-meeting which is to be held as a protest against the quartering of French colored troops on the Rhine," began the Commander. "It is a subject I should like to know more about."

Dr. Von Mach began his story. Essentially it differed little from the story he had told me, but on the surface it was another tale entirely. Where he had been frank with me,

or at least transparent, he was obscure and guarded before Commander Galbraith. For one to read into the Galbraith version the sinister purposes I had adduced from the story as told to me, would have been rather too much to expect, offhand. And Von Mach spoke without the confidence he had exhibited a little while before. I wondered if he had suspicions. As he neared the end of his recital Galbraith sent me a glance which said there was nothing to be done. When the doctor finished the Commander thanked him, said he would consider the invitation and let him know his decision later. Von Mach departed.

"You brought me a dud that time," remarked the Commander, "and here I was loaded for bear." He walked over and opened a door that was ajar, on the other side of which were seated Gilbert Bettman, Jack Taylor, Bolles and others. "You see, I even had my corroborating witnesses in readiness."

I was considerably depressed, and the kidding of the assembled company did not add to my comfort.

I asked for another chance, and suggested to the Commander that he assume an attitude a little less unbending toward his caller—that he ask questions, display interest, and draw him out. Mr. Galbraith finally consented to see Dr. Von Mach again at 9 o'clock.

I started down to the doctor's hotel to make the arrangement, not entirely sure that success would prosper my efforts. I was at a loss to understand Von Mach's changed demeanor. I was afraid he suspected something.

I found him dressing for the theater.

I had called, I said, in response to Commander Galbraith's wish. The Commander desired to determine before leaving Washington whether he would accept the speaking engagement at Madison Square Garden for February 28th.

"Do you think he might accept?" Dr. Von Mach spoke almost eagerly.

"That is something I cannot say," I replied, "but the

fact that he wants to see you again seems rather significant to me. And if I may suggest, speak to him with less reserve. He has been working very hard and he is greatly fatigued. If you will more or less lay the cards on the table I think you will facilitate matters. Show him some of those telegrams you showed me. Mention the names of those men from Cincinnati. Cincinnati is Mr. Galbraith's home. He has many friends there among the German-American element. Probably he knows some of the people who are interested in your great work."

Dr. Von Mach reappeared at 9 o'clock. The stage was set as before. Mr. Galbraith began by saying he would like to decide on the Madison Square Garden engagement before he left Washington that night. He was interested in what Dr. Von Mach had said, but desired enlightenment on a few special points before pledging himself to speak.

Dr. Von Mach said the best way might be to go over the whole project again, which he did in a very excellent manner from our point of view. The Commander asked questions, spoke familiarly of some of the Cincinnati Germans our caller mentioned and betrayed a lively interest. Von Mach was speaking more plainly all the time. He became much more frank and more outspoken against the Allies than he had been with me.

"And now as a measure of simple justice to those whom we were led to regard as our enemies in the late war—"

Galbraith stiffened.

"Who *were* our enemies in the late war," he snapped, "and who are our enemies now, since no peace has been ratified between the United States and Germany."

"Why, Colonel, you misunderstand me!" gasped the astonished propagandist.

"Excuse me, but I do not," said the Commander. "I understand you perfectly and the proposal that you have made is not only an affront to me personally, but it is an affront to the American Legion and the American people.

We fought this war to crush a domineering military autocracy which was a disgrace and a danger to the world. We conquered it, and intend that it shall remain conquered and destroyed, despite the efforts of such men as you."

"Why, Colonel, you are excited——"

"Not half as excited as I ought to be," said Galbraith. "Here is your hat. There is the door. Get out."

Hastily, but without agitation, Dr. Von Mach gathered up his papers, restored them to his brief case, took his hat and coat from a table and departed without further word.

Dr. Von Mach had assured me the voice of Galbraith speaking at the Madison Square Garden meeting would go around the world. The doctor was right about the carrying power of Mr. Galbraith's voice in that connection. The Commander's denunciation of Von Mach and his exposure of the Von Mach scheme was published throughout Europe, as well as the United States, the next morning.

Von Mach and his associates announced defiantly that the Madison Square Garden meeting would be held notwithstanding. Letters and telegrams of congratulation began to pour in on the Commander. There were also letters containing threats to be executed if the Commander did not immediately cease his denunciations. One such communication was sent to Mrs. Galbraith.

Delegations began visiting the Commander urging him to break up, by force if necessary, the Garden demonstration. "We won't break it up," he answered. "We'll show it up. We'll give these people a little rope and they'll hang themselves."

The issue quickly centered about a question of veracity regarding Rhineland conditions. Mr. Galbraith's stand quickly brought out conclusive proof that the "horrors" of Dr. Von Mach were the purest form of malicious fiction. Separate investigations made on the ground by the United States State Department, by the American Ambassador to France, by the Commanding General of the American

Forces at Coblenz and by the National Woman's Suffrage Association established the fact that never had French negro troops in Germany numbered more than 5,200, that all had been withdrawn, and that their conduct while in Germany had been exemplary. Their offenses against civilians had been fewer, on an average, than those committed by the same number of white troops, not of the French army alone but of other Allied forces in Germany as well. An independent investigation conducted by Francis Drake, Commander of the Legion in France, substantiated the findings of previous investigators. All of these facts were given the widest publicity.

If Galbraith's pleas for tolerance had not prevailed the Von Mach meeting would never have been held. While the friends of the meeting were privately threatening and publicly reviling the Commander, accusing him of attempting to suppress free speech, Galbraith was striving to hold in check impulsive patriotic forces that were determined the meeting should not be held. A wave of protest and indignation swept the country and citizens organized to prevent demonstrations in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Milwaukee and other places where Von Mach had told Mr. Galbraith meetings were scheduled to follow the New York curtain-raiser. A permit to use a hall which already had been obtained in Philadelphia was revoked by the municipal authorities in response to the demand of the local Legion organizations.

Day after day, as Mr. Galbraith amplified his exposé of the fraudulent nature and real object of the Rhine horror propaganda, sentiment grew, especially among veterans, against the New York meeting. The day before the meeting was to take place threats that it would be invaded and broken up by incensed ex-service men were so general that Mr. Galbraith decided active counter-measures were necessary. Hugh Robertson, of New York State Headquarters, sent a young Legionnaire with a German name to get a

ticket to the meeting. He procured one and from it two hundred counterfeits were printed.

Under the protection of 1,000 policemen more than 12,000 persons attended the Von Mach meeting in Madison Square Garden on February 28th. Mingled with hisses and boos for President Wilson, for Commander Galbraith and for the American Legion was heard applause for proposals of a coalition of those of German and Irish blood which would sweep away the "phantom of Anglo-Saxonism" because "we are in the majority."

The police lines were drawn for blocks about the Garden, with reinforcements of mounted men ready to ride down disturbers. No person was permitted near the Garden who did not have a ticket issued by the "New York Campaign Committee Against the Rhine Horror." This did not prevent Commander Galbraith and a hundred other Legion members from passing the lines and entering the hall. They had tickets provided by Hugh Robertson. With these forgeries selected squads of Legionnaires entered the meeting and stationed themselves strategically about the hall for the sole purpose of suppressing a possible outbreak.

There was no trouble in the hall and only one untoward incident. Alexander E. Anderson, former lieutenant-colonel of the 165th Infantry, the old 69th regiment of the New York National Guard, was one of the speakers. Anderson was denying stories of atrocities by German troops when a voice rang out from the gallery:

"Remember the *Lusitania!* Remember Belgium! Remember Edith Cavell!"

There were cries of "Lynch him!" and a dozen persons pounced upon the interrupter, who proved to be a Legion member. Police rescued the victim, however, and escorted him from the hall.

Other speakers were Otto Stiefel, a New York brewer; Supreme Court Justice Daniel F. Cohalan, of New York; Dr. Von Mach, and a few lesser lights of German or Sinn

Fein leanings. Justice Cohalan was the only one of the original list of speakers contemplated by Dr. Von Mach when he met Mr. Galbraith in Washington.

Outside thousands of veterans cruised about the police lines. Many were in uniform. The streets were wet with rain and a chill wind blew, but this did not dampen the ardor or cool the indignation of the veterans. Squads of Legionnaires from State headquarters mingled with the throngs counselling against disorder. The veterans marched and sang songs of the service and patriotic airs. The police kept them moving. Night sticks were used on occasions and a few arrests were made. A girl's head appeared from a third-story window on Madison avenue and a clear soprano voice began "The Star Spangled Banner." The men in the street took up the words and the avenue echoed with the anthem, drowning out the voice of a woman who, surrounded by policemen, was addressing an overflow of the "horrors" meeting. Presently someone shouted "Hats off!" and there was a rush toward the outdoor meeting, where some pieces of headgear had been slow in coming off. The casualties numbered several hats.

Formations of veterans roamed the streets until long after midnight, holding impromptu meetings at Herald Square, Times Square and even as far as Columbus Circle, three miles or more from the Garden. Commander Galbraith left the Garden when he saw the police and Legion deputies had the situation in hand. He mingled with the milling crowds outside the police cordon for a while and then marched uptown at the head of one of the parading columns. At Columbus Circle he addressed the men, complimenting them on their law-abiding spirit in the face of their desire to break up the meeting. He was wildly cheered.

The reaction to the Von Mach meeting was precisely what Commander Galbraith had foreseen. The Versailles treaty having been rejected by the Senate, the United States was still at war with Germany. A wave of resentment swept

the Nation. In New York Legion posts adopted resolutions condemning Mayor Hylan for having permitted the disloyal assemblage and for what seemed to be his friendly attitude toward it. Charges were preferred against Alexander E. Anderson and were formally argued before the New York Executive Committee. Anderson was found guilty on five counts of conduct prejudicial to the best interests of the country and of the American Legion, and was sentenced to expulsion from the Legion. Though ably represented by counsel, Mr. Anderson did not attend the trial, saying he no longer considered himself a member of the Legion.

There was an immediate demand for an answering demonstration, and one was held on March 18th at Madison Square Garden. There the American Legion, in conjunction with fifty other national patriotic and civic societies, united in an All-American meeting which delivered the *coup de grâce* to anything that survived of the "Rhine horror" movement. That meeting was called the greatest patriotic demonstration the country had witnessed since the beginning of the war. Twenty-five thousand persons struggled for admittance. Galbraith presided. Pershing spoke. Messages were read from organizations and public leaders in every State. The first one was from President Harding, who two months before had been approached by one of Von Mach's associates who urged that a German-American be made a member of the Cabinet! The nearer States sent representatives in person. It was in every sense a national protest against the dissemination of disloyalist propaganda.

So began and ended the first serious effort to induce the United States to repudiate the war. The "Rhine horror" meetings which were to march across the continent did not materialize. The "horrors" propaganda faded into the air. But, as if to prove the superior vitality of the spirit that prompted it, the "All-American" Madison Square Garden meeting found echoes in a dozen cities where similar demonstrations were held.

CHAPTER XV

A VISION OF WORLD PEACE

In November following the Cleveland convention Francis Drake, Commander of the Department of France,* called at Mr. Galbraith's New York office to say good-bye. He was leaving for Texas to present to the State, in the name of the Legion, a portrait of General Sam Houston, which he had brought with him from Paris. He feared he might not find Mr. Galbraith in New York when he returned to sail for France.

The National Commander expressed his appreciation of Mr. Drake's part in establishing the Legion organization, not only in France, but throughout Europe. Mr. Galbraith spoke of the importance of the overseas departments; of the heavy responsibilities that fall on a comparatively small membership which must represent American veterandom in foreign lands and in considerable measure be responsible for our national prestige abroad or our lack of it. Mr. Galbraith spoke appreciatively of the Legion's work on the Memorial Day preceding, when, largely due to the direction and initiative of Mr. Drake, the grave of every American soldier in Europe had been decorated. These things, observed Mr. Galbraith, will tend to promote and continue an accord between the American people and the American Government, and the peoples and governments of the Old World; and this, he said, would make for the advancement of mankind.

Mr. Galbraith asked a number of questions, and the answers of Mr. Drake brought out some significant points concerning the state of our organization in Europe and of the native veterans organizations there. American veterans were far ahead of those of other countries in the matter of organization. Mr. Drake explained some of the reasons for

* This was before the consolidation in 1921 of the organization on the Continent into the Department of Continental Europe.

this. Veterans organizations are traditional in the United States. They carry a heritage of honor and power which is not known in Europe. Unanimity of opinion did not exist among the European veterans themselves. In all countries there were several veterans societies, but none large enough or sufficiently representative to speak for the veterans as a whole, as could the Legion in America.

Mr. Drake said Europe was prepared to learn much from the United States in the matter of organization. The feats of the A. E. F. had opened their eyes over there, he said. They were now studying the American Legion.

The conversation drifted speculatively into the subject of a general union of the veterans societies of the recently allied countries. Mr. Drake spoke of the efforts that had been made in that direction and of the coming conference in Paris, at which a serious attempt would be made to effect the beginnings of such an international organization. Mr. Galbraith called it a probable "Veterans' League of Nations," and said that, despite the difficulties such an undertaking naturally entailed, success was not impossible. He said he had given the project some thought and would await with great interest the developments of the Paris meeting.

When Mr. Drake arose to take his leave Mr. Galbraith pointed to a sheaf of papers on his desk, indicated the door leading to his already-crowded waiting-room, and remarked that if he were able to accomplish one-half of what he had set himself to achieve during his administration, he would be entitled to a vacation when he had finished. He said he was already making vague plans to go to Europe for two or three months, and that he intended to combine recreation with a little more work in the interest of the ex-service men. It was too early, he continued, to venture anything of a specific nature, but he expected to visit several of the Allied countries and to see if observation of actual conditions might not give basis to some of the half-formed conceptions which were gathering in his mind.

A few days later Commander Galbraith called me to his office to discuss publicity relative to one of his moves for the disabled. He broke off suddenly from the subject under consideration and asked:

"Do you remember that talk I had with Drake the other day?"

I said I did.

"What points in that conversation struck you particularly?"

I said I had been impressed by what had been said of the American Legion helping support American prestige abroad; that Europe's need seemed to be organization; that this would be the work of organizers; and in this connection particularly I had remarked the visit to Europe which Mr. Galbraith had proposed.

"I am thinking seriously of that visit," the Commander went on. "I believe it would present an opportunity to do some good. I want you to keep your eyes open to the foreign situation and bring anything to my attention you think might bear on the subject of such an excursion. Later on we can check up and see where we stand."

The next development was the arrival of Cabot Ward's report on the Paris conference that resulted in the formation of the temporary organization of the Inter-Allied Veterans Federation, or by its official title, "Fédération Inter-Alliée des Anciens Combattants." Mr. Ward's report was voluminous, and the official document was accompanied by an unofficial statement which greatly clarified and illuminated the former.

A digest of these reports was prepared which Mr. Galbraith studied until a plan began to take form in his mind. He began—cautiously, as he once said—soliciting the opinions of a few others. Mr. D'Olier was one—so he told me after the Commander's death; and I assume that President Harding was another. The President and Mr. Galbraith were frequently in conference, and the Com-

mander's views always received consideration at the White House.

In February Mr. Galbraith told me the European trip was an assured fact. The first thing necessary, he said, was to strengthen the hand of organized veterandom in each of the several countries. That could be done only by the veterans themselves, but outside inspiration would help. Mr. Galbraith deemed it an important part of his mission to convey that inspiration, to set in motion events that would result in larger, stronger, more cohesive veterans bodies in all of the allied countries. Then, and not until then, he reasoned, would there be the components of an international body capable of much accomplishment.

At the height of the counter-campaign against the Von Mach propaganda efforts, I pointed out to Commander Galbraith how extensively his work in this connection was being reported and praised by the newspapers of Europe. This would be an asset for the trip. The Commander would come before the public there with just the right sort of advance introduction. If this Von Mach rumpus had been made to order it could not better serve his plans, I told Mr. Galbraith.

"I am sure of that," he said, "and by the way, it looks as if we are in luck in other directions. That trip may be a semi-official affair. We may go on a battleship."

The Commander had recently returned from Washington, where he had seen the President.

On a day late in April, when I was convalescing from an illness at Mr. Galbraith's summer home at Northport Point, Michigan, the Commander wired me that it had been decided to accept an invitation from the French Government to send an official Legion delegation to France during the summer to be present at the dedication of the Lorraine monument to the A. E. F. at Flirey. On my return to New York in May I learned that the suggestion for this trip had come through Dr. Marcel Knecht, chief of the French Infor-

THE GENESIS OF "40 HOMMES ET 8 CHEVEAUX"

Voyageurs from Philadelphia Arriving at Cleveland, 1920

mation Service in the United States, or, in other words, director of French publicity in America. So here was another thing that if made to order could not have been more helpful in paving the way to the proposed mission that was to follow Mr. Galbraith's retirement as Commander. The Commander said that the Flirey pilgrimage should be arranged with the later journey in view. The one was to be a sort of prelude to the other. Mr. Galbraith left the arrangement of this to me, with the injunction that I should not at this time speak to Dr. Knecht of the second visit.

Meantime much was still being written in Europe concerning the Legion and Commander Galbraith. In Great Britain particularly leaders among ex-service men were observing the American Legion. The Inter-Allied conference at Paris had brought home to them the need for one representative veterans organization. At that time there were five veterans bodies in the British Isles. A movement to consolidate was begun, and with the American Legion as their model, it was carried to conclusion. They paid us the compliment of adopting the name, British Legion, and a constitution drafted along the lines of the document which was written at St. Louis and Minneapolis. The late Lord Northcliffe, one of the greatest journalists who ever lived, perceived this as a news event of importance, and instructed one of his representatives then in America, Sir Harry Perry Robinson, to ask that Commander Galbraith write his impressions of the American Legion for the *London Times*.

Mr. Galbraith asked me to read what he had prepared in response to Sir Harry's request. I did so and noted that the Commander had not neglected this excellent opportunity to sow a few seeds which might be helpful to his projected tour. He brought into the closing paragraphs of his article a picture of what the future might hold for veterans organizations in the realm of international affairs.

"What I've said there doesn't hit the nail on the head,"

he said to me when I had finished the manuscript. "See if you don't think something like this would improve it."

When he had finished speaking he asked me to develop on paper what he had said and see if it would not strengthen the conclusion of his article. When I had done this we agreed that the modified conclusion had the effect desired. Furthermore, it set before the Inter-Allied Veterans Federation an issue which had become the major goal of that body. As published, the Commander's article ended thus:

> The American Legion feels itself closer to Europe than any other group of Americans. The Legion is a member of the recently formed Inter-Allied Veterans Federation. Two Legion men are officers of that Federation, and the rank and file of the Legion at home are awaiting with the keenest interest the development of a veterans association on an international basis. The Legion experts to play its modest rôle in the creation of such an association. We see no reason why the young Inter-Allied Federation cannot achieve for each and all of the affiliated allied nations what the American Legion has achieved for the United States.
>
> And then it will have merely paused on the threshold of its potential mission. The American Legion hopes to be a small part of an Inter-Allied Veterans Federation which may become powerful only if its motives are pure, and whose ultimate aspiration shall be to make impossible a recurrence of the horror for which the heart of the world still bleeds—*war*. With the organized veterans of the Allied nations rests the voice of command. Will they speak?

"I think that says just about enough," remarked the Commander. "It says enough to start them thinking. I believe it carries just the proper amount of suggestion for that. You know, what I want is to put the *suggestion* in their minds and let that suggestion germinate the idea. Then that idea will be truly their own idea, and they are apt to think more highly of it than if we tried to hand them an idea ready made. So when we go over, all we'll have to do is to say, 'This idea of yours is splendid. What can we do to help you make it an actuality'? "

Such was Galbraith's greatest dream. Universal peace —no more, no less. "So when we go. . . ." But *he* did not go. When that article appeared in the *Times* its author was dead.

Had he survived a fortnight longer the first public intimation of Mr. Galbraith's peace movement would have appeared in the American press. On one of the last days of his life Mr. Galbraith dictated a statement which on the day of his death the Associated Press had already distributed throughout the country for publication on June 20, 1921. The object was to forestall certain extremists who Mr. Galbraith learned were about to advocate disarmament by the United States "as an example to other powers."

"For the United States to disarm now," declared the Commander's statement, "or at any time before other nations likewise simultaneously disarm . . . would be foolhardy and dangerous." The statement continued:

> The American Legion is an institution of service, and the goal of goals to which it aspires is to do something that shall make impossible a repetition of the devastating horror of war. The task is stupendous, but plans looking toward its fulfillment are being shaped. It is an affair no nation can achieve alone. There must be co-ordinated activity by interested and influential groups within the various nations.
>
> We have in all the allied countries organizations of veterans. These associations are bound together in an international federation of which the American Legion is a member. I believe the time is near at hand when the Inter-Allied Veterans Federation will come to enjoy the same prestige in international affairs that it is apparent to me the American Legion enjoys in American public affairs. When that time does come the dream of world peace should be no longer a dream.

The Galbraith vision survived its creator. John G. Emery caught the inspiration and carried it to France. Hanford McNider induced the Inter-Allied Veterans Federation to hold its third international conference at New Orleans in 1922, at which the principles governing the world veterans campaign for peace were enunciated.

CHAPTER XVI

MR. GALBRAITH'S POSITION ON ADJUSTED COMPENSATION

I HAVE heard the statement made privately not a few times and by not a few persons that Commander Galbraith was opposed to adjusted compensation, and sought to avoid the issue. I presume others have heard the same. Whether others have believed these stories I do not know, but I have not believed them because I know them to be untrue.

I have heard similar definitions of Mr. D'Olier's position. It has been said that he was never a convinced believer in the adjusted compensation principle, was forced into the position he took and was secretly delighted when his responsibilities ended as head of an organization advocating an adjusted compensation law. Some of the details of Mr. D'Olier's attitude appear in an earlier chapter and these details have not been publicly stated before. They would not be stated here if the decision had been left to Mr. D'Olier. He would not regard them as worthy of mention. If these facts are not sufficient refutation of such fiction, Mr. D'Olier is alive and capable of speaking for himself.

But Mr. Galbraith is not alive, which is my sole excuse for mentioning this subject here. Something is owing to the memory of the man who gave so much, who gave even his life, to the cause of the American Legion.

The whispered stories that D'Olier and Galbraith were at heart against adjusted compensation, and were shadow-boxing in their efforts to put a bill through Congress, represent only one form of the incalculably subtle propaganda of the interests who are out to block all such legislation. They are part of the general effort to sow suspicion and distrust of its leadership among the ranks of the Legion. Anything tending to divide or weaken the Legion is a blow against the most important force behind the efforts to obtain the enactment of this legislation.

Shortly after the first of the year in 1921 I met socially a veteran whose business connections were with influential financial interests. He had commanded a regiment, been seriously wounded and had an excellent record. He was ignorant of my connection with the Legion. We discussed the war and drifted into talk of ex-service problems and the Legion.

"I am about to withdraw my membership from the Legion," he told me. "I cannot stand this constant patter about the bonus. In the first place it is a disgrace to the uniform, and in the second place it would ruin business. Of course, I realize there will be no bonus. I know Colonel D'Olier, the former Commander, and Colonel Galbraith, the present Commander of the Legion. I know they are both really opposed to a bonus."

I said I was a Legion member and was surprised to hear such a statement; that I was under the impression Mr. Galbraith and Mr. D'Olier were both strongly in favor of a bonus.

"That is the general impression," I was told. "It has to be given out to hold the organization together. I think it's bad business, though. I would rather see the country without a Legion than with one out for this bonus."

"I suppose you have discussed this subject with the Legion Commanders?"

"I have. I was at a dinner with Colonel Galbraith not long ago. I spoke to him about the bonus. He gave me to understand he was not for it."

"He said so in that many words?" I asked.

"No, not in that many words—but he gave me to understand he was against it."

Now here was a concrete case of what purported to be first-hand evidence. This man had not gotten his information from "a friend who knew what he was talking about," a "business associate who is on the inside," or "a man whose wife has known Mrs. Galbraith for ten years." He knew

Galbraith himself, had seen him at a dinner, had talked to him and had been given to "understand" that he, Galbraith, was opposed to a bonus. I took pains to run down that story; and this is what I found.

That the man in question was a rabid anti-compensationist and his business relations made such views most expedient; that being a veteran he was expected by his associates to have some influence among other ex-service men on the compensation question; that he had met Commander Galbraith only once in his life, and that was at a banquet at which two hundred guests were present; that his table was far removed from Mr. Galbraith's; that when the speaking was over he was introduced to the Commander and spoke probably twenty words with him. In fact, Mr. Galbraith was unable to recall the meeting at all, and two months later I saw the two men introduced again.

Mr. Galbraith announced at the outset of his administration that the two big legislative fights he would conduct would be in favor of the disabled and in favor of adjusted compensation, *in the order named.* He used to stress that qualifying clause on every occasion. Those were his instructions to Gilbert Bettman, his friend and fellow-townsman, whom he made chairman of the Legislative Committee, and to John Thomas Taylor, who remained in Washington as vice-chairman. He told Bettman, as he told all of us repeatedly, that the first fight was for the disabled, during which time we should merely maintain our position on adjusted compensation, mentioning it now and then to keep the subject alive. Bettman and Taylor on occasions advocated a departure from this course, but the Commander was firm.

In the disabled fight Mr. Galbraith enlisted a score of forces outside of the Legion. Time and again he would approach a man and tell him he needed his aid, and this would be the answer:

"I'm not so keen about the Legion, Galbraith. Your advocacy of this bonus is bad. I'm not for the bonus, you

know—believe it's a needless waste of money and a bad thing for the country."

"My friend," the Commander would say, "I am not asking you to help us get the bonus. I am asking you to help us care for the men who have stood between you and your business and destruction and who are now wounded, sick and afflicted and are without money or care. The Legion is not talking bonus now. It is talking disabled. When it gets ready to talk bonus it will not ask your help. It will not need it. But now it is talking disabled, and it does need your help and must have it."

By this means the Legion obtained the services of a number of people in the disabled fight who were opposed to adjusted compensation, and some of them seemed to get a sneaking idea that by helping the disabled they had helped also to buy off the Legion on the compensation issue.

Mr. Galbraith knew this to be true. He knew the pressure from the membership for more activity on compensation was increasing as time passed. He knew that stories were in circulation to the effect that he had traded the Legion out on adjusted compensation. He used to laugh at this.

"How quickly people forget," he said once. "They do not remember my insurgency at Minneapolis. They do not remember or they do not know of my stand in Ohio when I was State Commander. When we get this disabled matter on the road to settlement I'm going into this bonus fight with so much stuff that we'll make their heads swim. We'll have this bill out of the Senate Committee and a law in sixty days. Then watch these doubters. They will be the first to come around and try to pat me on the back and tell me they knew I could do it all the time."

Not until the end of May did Commander Galbraith regard the success of his enormous program for the disabled assured by the passage of the required legislation. One morning he said to me:

"I am doing something that will please a great many

people and displease quite a few. The fight for adjusted compensation is about to begin. Take this over to Ross when you go."

He handed me a statement he had prepared for the *Weekly*. It was an announcement of an every-member-get-a-member campaign he wished to launch on July 4th. Increased membership, he said, meant increased sinews for the Legion's battles which were enumerated briefly.

> The disabled situation is almost cleared, [the statement continued] thanks to your efforts. But there remain another class of disabled, the financially disabled who have waited patiently until their physically-incapacitated buddies should be cared for. Our next great legislative effort will be for them. Our adjusted compensation measure once passed the lower House of Congress by an enormous majority. We are preparing to renew the fight for it.

"That is just a tickler," he added. "When that appears in the *Weekly* I will be out touring Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota making speeches. The adjusted compensation campaign will be opened there. Bolles will visit the Pacific Coast immediately afterward. Clear the decks of your publicity outfit and tell the *Weekly* boys to do the same for the shortest and most decisive scrap we've had to date. I've been observing the opposition for a long time. Their defenses will not last for sixty days."

On Sunday, June 6th, Commander Galbraith started for Indianapolis to attend a meeting of the Finance Committee before beginning his two weeks speaking tour.

In eight months he had done much, and much remained to do. Victory for the disabled—the most significant, constructive legislative accomplishment since the war—was in sight; the compensation fight was about to begin; the frustration of the German propaganda conspiracy had made the Legion's leader a world figure. Arrangements for the memorial pilgrimage to Europe were under way. A return call by Marshal Foch and distinguished personages from the other countries was in project. A mighty endeavor to mobilize throughout the world thirty million former fighting men

behind a demand for peace was to dawn with the Legion's tomorrow.

Galbraith had fairly struck his stride. A new consciousness of his ability to infuse into the Legion energies that would enable it to meet and master great difficulties seemed to have lately come to him. There was a new light in his eye, a quality in his tone that had not been there before. Friends of years standing perceived this and wondered. They beheld a new Galbraith, so more than one has told me since. His whole being seemed now to be incorporated into that of the Legion, which had come to look to him for inspiration and guidance, and to lean on him as never before it had leaned on one man. With each responsibility and each new burden Galbraith's vitality seemed enhanced rather than diminished. He was indefatigable—a crusader "with soul aflame." A new figure of national stature such as wars invariably produce was coming into his own.

Affairs were at this pass when an automobile in which he was riding in Indianapolis on June 9th, 1921, side-slipped at a turn and pitched down a small embankment. Nearby a jagged bit of concrete, discarded by road builders, protruded from the soft soil. Saving a tree which stopped the machine, this was in all probability the only object within thirty yards that might have inflicted a fatal injury. The Commander was hurled from the machine. His body struck the protruding concrete. He was killed instantly.

CHAPTER XVII

GALBRAITH

When the word of tragedy reached the suite of offices in West Forty-third street, New York, from which Colonel Galbraith directed the affairs of the Legion, a blue-eyed stenographer spoke first.

"His flags!" she said.

In another minute she had the flags—the Colors and the red ensign of the National Commander—flying at half-staff from the windows just behind Mr. Galbraith's desk, where they always flew when the Colonel was in New York.

Such, in his own office, was the first spontaneous tribute to the memory of an adored Chief who had gone to join the High Command. The incident is significant because it reveals the nature of the man we mourned. The first thought, the first impulse welling up from the subconscious being of that taker and transcriber of notes—was the flag. Galbraith—the Flag—One!

In the highest and finest sense Frederic William Galbraith, jr., was a patriot. The stenographer thought first of the flag because instinctively she had come to know that Galbraith regarded the flag as a holy thing. She had seen him, worn and weary, driven to the limits of human endurance, turn from his dictation, remove his reading-glasses and gaze intently upon the folds of the flag that flew from the window; gaze in abstraction until a new light would rekindle his tired eyes, when he would resume his endless dictation, refreshed by the inspiration conveyed by contemplation of that flag.

To behold in the folds of every American flag a record of all that is unselfish and fine in a nation we love and would die for—there are indeed men of such perception, and the Legion's late leader was one of them.

Mr. D'Olier returned from Japan late in December, 1920,

when the "barn-storming" phase of Galbraith's campaign for the disabled was reaching its climax. This was his estimate of the situation:

"I soldiered in the S. O. S. in France, where the job was primarily one of organization. I did the S. O. S. work for the American Legion, which primarily was the work of organization. In France Galbraith was an intrepid combat leader. He is displaying those qualities now. He has taken the Legion into action."

As time goes on I think the tendency will grow to consider the first two national administrations of the Legion together—one as the logical consequence and development of the other. The right men in the right place at the right time; a rare combination—thrice favored of fortune was the Legion. Yet by character, instinct, training and methods D'Olier and Galbraith were as different as two men travelling the road could be, and each served when the Legion was benefited by the sort of leadership it received.

Galbraith was a personal leader—picturesque, vivid, captivating, dominating. He had followed the sea in his youth and had been the captain of a ship. There was a good deal of the spirit of the fo'c's'le in his makeup, which led many to assume him to be impetuous and given to behaving on the spur of impulse. This is not true. It is a fact that he was bold, but his boldness was preceded by the careful exercise of caution and study. Before embarking on a new course or a new policy it was his unvarying practice to view the question from all sides that presented and to solicit the opinion and advice of numerous persons, in particular persons who he believed would hold opinions different from his own.

As Commander, Mr. Galbraith built up a unique organization for this purpose. Whenever possible he held personal consultations; but Mr. Galbraith did so much, he kept so many projects in motion at a time, that such consultations frequently were impossible. He developed, therefore, a

notable system of consultation by correspondence, by which means he could hold any number of conferences simultaneously. He had in his office various rosters of persons whose opinions might be of value on this subject or that. The personnel of the rosters was changed from time to time.

A question of policy or procedure would arise. He would dictate a letter soliciting opinions—and he was a master at this—and direct that copies be forwarded to from ten to one hundred persons. The operation of the system was in charge of the Commander's private secretary, Mrs. Carolyn McLaughlin. Under her direction worked a battery of stenographers, often in reliefs, for the Commander's office opened at 8:30 in the morning, and when he was in town it seldom closed before midnight. The responses were tabulated and digested as they came in, and when a sufficient number had arrived, they were placed before the Commander. Before a decision would be reached a second or a third questionnaire often would go out, usually to a smaller number of consultants. In the end the Commander might summon to his office three or four whose views—often greatly divergent from his own—had impressed him especially.

A half dozen such conferences by correspondence were sometimes in process at once. In framing the disabled legislation policies the Commander made use of this device in literally scores of instances. Groups of renowned experts were impressed into service and their views obtained on every angle of the complex subject of veteran rehabilitation. Another means of conference was by long distance telephone. I have known the Commander to have three persons in three cities on his wires at one time.

These referendums usually were conducted under seal of strict confidence, so that the first the Legion organization or the public knew of a new plan or policy was when the Commander declared it as an issue and began the fight for its realization with characteristic energy. This gave rise to the impression of Galbraith's "impetuousness," when as a

matter of fact almost everything he did had been carefully thought out beforehand.

"Study that a little more," "Sleep on it before you act—then *act*." Such was his common counsel to others. Mr. Galbraith maintained a voluminous correspondence with the men of his old regiment. He loaned them money, paid their debts, helped them out of trouble, advised them in business—was their comrade, friend and counsellor. He loved them as he loved his own children. I have seen him stop to chat for a quarter of an hour with a boy from his regiment while a Senator cooled his heels in the waiting-room. One boy wrote him that he had been arrested for "punching" a man who had struck a woman. Commander Galbraith replied:

> I note very carefully what you say in reference to your recent trouble. I have not a word of criticism to offer. You did exactly what I should have done under similar circumstances. Keep out of trouble all you can, lad, but when you get in be sure you are right—and then *stick*.

However prone to the exercise of counsel and caution, Galbraith was not a delayer. His remarkable foresight won time in which to take counsel and weigh matters before it became necessary to act. Action was what he strove for always. Action was his forte. His whole life shows it. He had a theory that an almost correct thing done at the right time frequently served better than an entirely correct thing done too late. Of all common sins he could tolerate inaction least of all. I have known him to forgive a mistake of action with the comment that, "He *did something*, anyway." I have known him to rebuke one who merely failed to act for fear he might have made a mistake.

Galbraith dealt frankly with others and expected frankness in return. When he asked a man for his opinion he wanted to know what that man thought, and not what he thought Mr. Galbraith wanted him to think. Sometimes when he encountered a person who seemed to hesitate to express an opinion which would not be in accord with the

views of the Commander, Mr. Galbraith would take a false position in order to draw out the individual. He did not fancy these tactics, however, and warned others against their use. They tended to undermine sincerity, he said.

An example of the Commander's candor may be instanced by a remark to President Harding. I have this incident from a person who was present at the interview.

The Commander called frequently at the White House and the President valued his counsel. Shortly after his inauguration Commander Galbraith visited the President on a mission for the disabled. The conversation drifted from the disabled to general matters. The President mentioned the vast power of the Legion, and asked in a casual way—for he knew Galbraith well—what the Commander thought would be the Legion's general attitude toward the new national Administration.

"When the American Legion believes the President, whoever he may be, to be right it will support him," replied Mr. Galbraith. "When it believes the President to be wrong it will try to put him right, and failing, it will oppose him with all of the strength at its command."

"Galbraith," President Harding is quoted as replying, "I can understand that sort of language. I think we will get on well together."

And, as a matter of fact, they always did.

Of the attributes of true greatness possessed by Commander Galbraith none was more marked than the quality of personal leadership which is a natural gift. Men are born with it, or born without it. It cannot be cultivated or acquired. With it went a magnetic and rugged personality, suggestive of great physical and mental vigor, which made men eager to follow such leadership. Galbraith had the faculty of animating by his engaging personality anything he undertook, and the faculty of arousing enthusiasm in others. These qualities brought hundreds of new, trained minds into active service for the Legion in connection with

the varied constructive works of the brief Galbraith administration. In the last analysis some of these helpers may not have been so concerned about the Legion, *per se*, or about their immediate task, but they *were* concerned about Galbraith. The spell of his leadership was upon them.

To the achievements which have been numbered in these chapters and to a myriad of related and independent efforts into which he plunged himself in the name of the Legion, he brought to bear this influencing personality, the product of a life of adventure and astonishing attainment.

Frederic Galbraith—Fritz to old friends—was the restless spirit of an old New England family. He was born near Watertown Arsenal, in Massachusetts, in 1874. His two brothers are college graduates and college professors, but Fritz left school at the age of ten, going with his father to California, where he decided to make his own way in the world. He became the youngest track-walker on the Southern Pacific railroad. At thirteen he was back in Massachusetts and three years later the youngest "man" in the crew of which he was foreman in a manufacturing plant at Springfield. He decided to go to sea, and studied at night for the entrance examinations of the United States Naval Academy, passing first on the list, but was denied admission on a technicality. He entered the Massachusetts Nautical Training Academy, finished a three-year course in one year and at nineteen was third mate on a sailing vessel bound for Japan.

At twenty-four he was master of a ship. On an occasion in the China Sea he rescued the entire crew of another vessel which had caught fire in a storm. This feat of heroism was widely acclaimed in maritime circles in the Orient. In commemoration of it a silver medal was struck and presented to the young skipper. After six years at sea he gave up navigation at the request of his mother and "settled down," addressing postal cards for three dollars a week in a factory office in Springfield, Massachusetts—which may or may not be considered an odd change of occupation for a roving

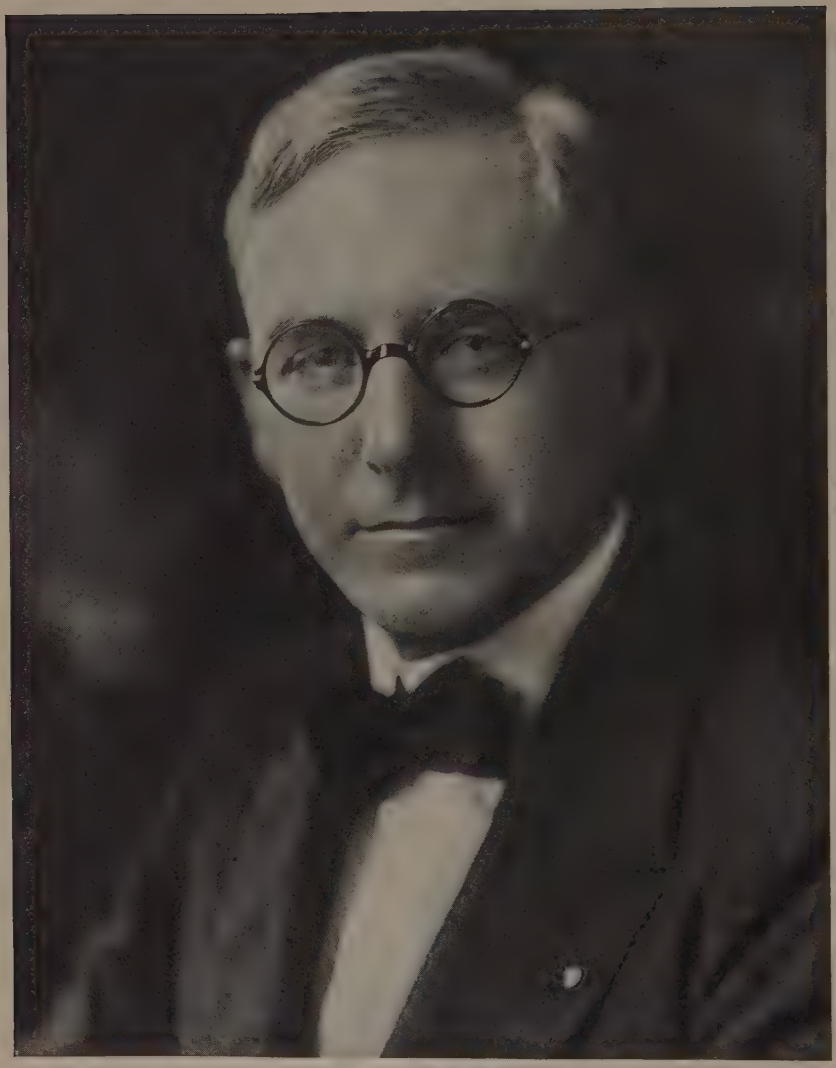
sea captain. In a year he was treasurer of the company. The next year he took a bankrupt paper box concern and saved $100,000 for the stockholders in twelve months. Thenceforth his rise in the business world was rapid. At the time of his death he was an officer or director of several large corporations.

Commander Galbraith died in his forty-seventh year. He was past forty—an age at which most men hesitate to embrace a new experience—when he became a soldier by joining the First Infantry of the Ohio National Guard. He was colonel of the regiment in 1917 when it became the 147th Infantry of the Thirty-seventh Division. He led it overseas, through the war, and brought it back. Colonel Galbraith was wounded, cited for valor and decorated with the Distinguished Service Cross and the French Legion d'Honneur and Croix de Guerre. He refused on his own responsibility to attack on the morning of November 11th, 1918, three hours before the fighting was to end. He declared the war had been won and that further expenditure of life would be murder indefensible before God.

His death was a national sorrow, and a large share of the population of Cincinnati, and members of his old regiment and of the Legion from every State, followed him to his grave. Mrs. Galbraith declined the offer of President Harding of interment with national honors at Arlington. On a cliff commanding an impressive sweep of the Ohio river is being erected the Legion's Galbraith memorial.

So passed Galbraith before his time—a new national figure of the first rank. Had he been spared he would have gone far.

He has left his impress on the American Legion.



JOHN G. EMERY

CHAPTER XVIII

JOHN G. EMERY CARRIES ON

It was a difficult task the National Executive Committee imposed on John G. Emery, when at Indianapolis on June 14th, 1921, he was raised from the rank of National Vice-Commander to be Mr. Galbraith's successor.

It was an unanimous choice. No other name was submitted, though there was sentiment in favor of Milton J. Foreman who, at that time, was in a critical condition in an Indianapolis hospital suffering from injuries received in the accident in which Commander Galbraith had lost his life. Mr. Foreman was chairman of the important National Finance Committee, a meeting of which the Commander had gone to Indianapolis to attend. He was a close associate and adviser of Mr. Galbraith, and had been instrumental in helping to shape some of his major policies.

Mr. Foreman was unconscious for twenty-four hours after the crash. When he revived it was agreed that he should be spared the shock of the news of Commander Galbraith's death. When able to speak, however, one of his first questions was:

"Where is Fritz?"

Mr. D'Olier was at the bedside. He had just returned from Cincinnati, where Mr. Galbraith's body had been taken for burial.

"Fritz has gone home," replied Mr. D'Olier.

Mr. Foreman understood.

Physicians declared that the responsibilities of the office of Commander, undertaken under such circumstances, would be too great a physical and mental strain. Many executive committeemen felt likewise, and Mr. Foreman's name was not presented.

Commander Emery's task was difficult because it involved the gathering up of a thousand loose ends of activity

which had been snapped by Mr. Galbraith's sudden death. Galbraith's executive organization in New York was quite distinct from the administrative organization at Indianapolis presided over by National Adjutant Bolles. This executive organization was intensely personal. Galbraith had ways of doing things which were peculiar to himself. Never before and never since have the vital concerns of the Legion been so centered and so bound up in one man as they were in Galbraith at the moment of his death.

"The circumstances under which I greet you as National Commander make my heart heavy," said Mr. Emery in his first statement to the membership. "My only thought has been to continue as an humble lieutenant in the service of the great leader. I accept the responsibilities which have come to me. . . . My one aspiration is to bear those responsibilities as he would have borne them—for the glory of our country."

Commander Emery was not a stranger to Legion work in the national field. He was one of Mr. Galbraith's consultants. The former Commander had entrusted to him, among other things, the delicate mission of handling the proffered gift by the Knights of Columbus of $5,000,000 for the construction of a memorial building in Washington. The offer was declined by action of the National Executive Committee in February of 1921, because of certain attached conditions which the Legion conceived would deprive it of complete freedom of action. Mr. Emery headed the committee which conducted with entire harmony the negotiations with the K. of C. officials and which recommended against the acceptance of the offer.

Mr. Emery selected the three cardinal items of the Galbraith program and concentrated on them. These were the disabled, adjusted compensation and the pilgrimage to Europe.

The first was carried to complete success, though not without additional effort. The $18,600,000 hospital appro-

priation bill was passed before Mr. Galbraith died, but the Sweet bill, calling for the consolidation of Government agencies, was still hanging fire before Congress. New complications cropped out directly after Mr. Galbraith's death, but energetic action by Mr. Emery smoothed these out and the bill became a law early in August.

The adjusted compensation bill met a different fate. When it became known that Commander Galbraith would not put the full force of the Legion behind the compensation measure until the Sweet bill was disposed of, tactics of delay were brought to bear on the disabled legislation. Galbraith announced, however, that he would not tolerate procrastination. Emery, who was one of the original compensation advocates, took up the cudgels and without losing sight of the Sweet bill began, through Chairman Bettman and Vice-Chairman Taylor of the Legislative Committee, a drive for the McCumber bill, which was the name of the compensation measure in the Senate. The Senate Finance Committee reported the bill out, which was distinctly a Legion victory.

The opposition, led by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, went into action. The bill would ruin business, they said. They found a staunch ally in Secretary of the Treasury Mellon. Still, however, the bill was out of Senate Committee. Bettman and Taylor had a check on every member of the Senate. They knew the bill would pass if it came to a vote, and nothing could prevent its coming to a vote except the opposition of the Administration. President Harding was committed to the support of a compensation bill by a pre-election pledge. He had predicted the passage of such a bill in an interview with Commander Emery. He had declined, however, to declare in favor of the bill then before the Senate.

When the Senate made the bill unfinished business on the calendar its passage seemed a certainty, since by that action the bill could not be displaced from the calendar without being voted upon. It was at this juncture, on July 2d,

that Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, a close friend of the President, rose and announced he had a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury on the soldier's adjusted compensation bill, and asked consent that it might be read "for the information of the Senate."

The Senators gasped with astonishment. As one by one the sonorous platitudes of Mr. Mellon's famous "wreck of the treasury" letter fell from the lips of the reading clerk, they seemed to seal the doom of a piece of legislation that had a few minutes before seemed inevitable. The McCumber bill was dead. The Administration had spoken.

Such, indeed, were the Administration's intentions, but the Administration reckoned without an adequate conception of the power and the public confidence reposed in the American Legion. In ten minutes Vice-Chairman Taylor's phone was ringing. A Senator was on the wire with the news of the Mellon letter. What could be done to save the bill? he asked. Taylor acted instantly. He issued a statement to the press pointing out the inconsistencies of Mr. Mellon's argument. He conferred with supporters of the bill in the Senate, and provided them with figures with which to refute Secretary Mellon's claims. He went to the White House, but was denied an audience with the President. He telegraphed every Legion State headquarters to rally to the cause.

The result was instantaneous. A deluge of letters, resolutions, and telegrams descended on the Senate like a paper cloudburst. The adjusted compensation supporters in that chamber rallied and held fast. Senator Frelinghuysen and the colleagues to whom Mr. Harding had given the job of defeating compensation were taken by panic. They hastened to the other end of Pennsylvania avenue and told the President that nothing but his own power and prestige could avert the passage of the bill.

The President responded, and on July 12th in a hastily prepared address he urged that the bill be sent back to the

Senate finance committee, which was done by a vote of 39 to 29. Mr. Harding did not attempt to discuss the economic justice or injustice of compensation. He confined himself to advancing excuses for its non-payment in a message which was unresponsive to the main issue and presented several irrelevant statements, based on rather surprisingly inexact information. He quoted the figures of Secretary Mellon. He recited what had been done for the disabled and what it would cost, omitting to mention that every item of legislation and every cent of money had been wrung from Congress by the Legion.

Mr. Emery directed that the pilgrimage to France be carried through in observance of Mr. Galbraith's plans. The new Commander's first decision was not to make the trip himself, because of the press of affairs at home. He delegated Franklin D'Olier to represent him, which Mr. D'Olier reluctantly consented to do, after insisting strongly that Mr. Emery lead the party himself. With the passage of the disabled legislation a certainty, and further action on adjusted compensation definitely postponed for another year, at almost the last moment Commander Emery was persuaded to accompany the pilgrimage.

Returning in September he plunged into the consideration of the difficult problem of unemployment. Eight hundred thousand veterans were without work. He assembled a committee under the chairmanship of Roy Hoffman of Oklahoma, and participated in its deliberations. Practical suggestions to departments and posts were evolved and the way paved for Hanford MacNider's quick clean-up of the situation six months later.

To become head of the Legion, John Emery resigned as president of the municipal commission of seven members which governs the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Emery was born in Grand Rapids in 1881, the son of English immigrants who had come to the United States a few months before. He left his real estate business in 1917 to attend

the second officers' training camp at Fort Sheridan, Illinois. Commissioned a captain, he was sent overseas early in 1918 and assigned to the 18th Infantry of the First Division. He served through the war with that regiment, was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross and promoted to major on the battlefield. At Exermont in the Argonne, in October, he was severely wounded while leading the first battalion in an assault. He helped organize the Legion in Michigan, and his first service to the national organization was as leader of the fight for an unequivocal declaration on the adjusted compensation issue by the Executive Committee early in 1920. He helped write the original four-fold bill.

As Galbraith's successor he carried the Legion's message into Europe. Summarizing the achievements of the year at the Third National Convention at Kansas City, he would accept no credit for himself. His mission, he modestly said, was to carry out, as best he could, the projects of the late Commander Galbraith. Thus did John Emery acquit himself of a task that presented difficulties the average Legionnaire little dreamed had any existence.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PILGRIMAGE TO EUROPE

THE AMERICAN LEGION pilgrimage to Europe in August of 1921 was more than a reconnaissance patrol over the land of great yesterdays. It had two definite and material reasons for being.

The trip was made at the suggestion and invitation of the French Government, which desired the presence of a representative company of American veterans at the unveiling of the monument to the A. E. F. at the ruined little village of Flirey in the St. Mihiel salient, in whose environs seventeen American divisions had fought. France desired America—unofficial America, as represented by those who had fought—to know that France had not forgotten.

The American Legion, in pursuit of its aims toward world peace through a world-wide union of veterans, desired to impress upon Europe, particularly the veterans of Europe, the benefits of union and solidarity. It desired to acquaint the European veterans with a model by which they might possibly shape their ends to gain recognition of the voice which thirty million ex-soldiers and ex-sailors, after winning a world war for the protection of democratic institutions of government, are entitled to have in public affairs.

Such were the objects of the pilgrimage—from the French and the American points of view. Both objects were achieved in so far as it was possible for the pilgrimage to achieve them. We left France with the impression that France remembers and is grateful. We left in France the impression that in union there is strength, and if veterans hope to realize their ideals they must unite. Whether these achievements will stand against the rigors of time and the corrosion of forgetfulness depends on future events. For its part the Legion has not relaxed the effort to organize and

solidify veteran sentiment throughout the world, and progress in this direction continues.

On the voyage over it was interesting to speculate on the character of the reception that awaited us. Not that any one reckoned for a moment that France had forgotten. Not that—but nearly three years had gone by since the Armistice. They had been crowded years; tumultuous years, packed with a procession of events so vital to France, to the United States and to every nation on earth; difficult years of readjustment, spanning a period in which the universal tendency had been for nations and men to draw apart and safeguard individual interests, rather than to collaborate in the defense of consolidated interests as during the war.

There were many things to absolve France of the charge of forgetfulness if, in her preoccupation, she had not found time to retain the vivid appreciation of America which was hers in 1917 when, with back against the wall, she acclaimed the coming of the A. E. F. with a species of enthusiasm that approached spiritual ecstasy.

With these thoughts in the back of our minds we went to France. We knew we would be well received. We had reason to expect the cordial welcome due the citizens of a friendly nation and a former ally voyaging abroad as the national guests of the most courteous people on earth. But the ovation which was ours surpassed every anticipation. It was complete and overwhelming. It astonished France herself. It surpassed the calculations of trained observers of international affairs.

The official honors conferred upon the delegation were as great as France could bestow.

One of the most notable tributes accorded the visiting Americans came quite without prearrangement. A few hours after the arrival in Paris the party visited the tomb of France's Unknown Soldier under the Arc de Triomphe. Buses took us to a side-street near the Etoile where a column

of squads was formed. We were in readiness to march, but the wreath Commander Emery was to lay on the grave had not arrived. Five minutes elapsed, but no wreath came. Marshal Foch awaited us at the Arc. We could delay no longer.

We marched to the Arc de Triomphe and were greeted by the Marshal. Commander Emery cast an eye about for the wreath. It was not there. He stepped forward and, as we uncovered, delivered a brief eulogy to the Unknown of France.

"To him," the Commander concluded, "America pays the greatest tribute it knows how to pay—unknown hero of France, our flag caresses you."

Mr. Emery took the colors from one who held them near by and draped them over the stone which marks the sepulcher of *Le Soldat Inconnu.*

The tribute made a tremendous impression. "Inspired," proclaimed the French press. It had never been done before.

The ceremony over, Marshal Foch turned and walked under the Arc. The Legion column moved to follow him. A French aide sprang to the Marshal's side, begging him to turn back. It is a tradition of France that none but victorious troops shall pass, in formation, under the Arc de Triomphe. The Marshal shook his head.

"The Americans never turn back," he said.

The magnificence which attended the brilliant array of formal functions from Bordeaux to Strassbourg, the tributes paid by the great men and the great institutions of France, were without precedent in the republic's history. These honors were not for us as individuals, but as envoys. They were intended for the whole American Legion, the whole American Nation. And as the National Commander has said, that is the spirit in which we endeavored to receive them.

The portals of the Grand Chancellery of the Legion of

Honor were opened for a general reception for the first time since Napoleon founded the order in 1802, and the Legionnaires were received there in a manner usually reserved for marshals of France. The National Commander and other members of the party were given high ranks in this distinguished order. At Flirey Marshal Foch removed the Croix de Guerre with palm from his own breast and pinned it on that of Commander Emery.

Marshal Foch was with us often. He led the triumphal entry into Metz, marching on foot at the head of the Legion column, while a regiment of French troops found they had their work cut out for them to keep the frenzied crowds which hemmed the streets from overwhelming the formation. The Stars and Stripes flew alone over the fortress of Jeanne d'Arc of the Metz defenses. Standing on a parapet where the guns have been reversed to point toward the Rhine, the Marshal, who is not given to conversational exaggeration, declared "the triumph we celebrate today probably would not have been won" without American help.

At Rambouillet President and Mme. Millerand were at home to the delegates at the summer residence of the presidents of France. There was a state luncheon at the Palais d'Orsay, over which a minister of the cabinet presided. Premier Briand met the party at the Hotel de Ville, where the governing body of Paris handed over the city's keys. A sufficient number of honorary citizenships were conferred on Legionnaires by municipalities large and small throughout France to insure a series of spirited international mayoralty contests should the comrades decide to take full advantage of their newly-acquired French franchise. Destroyers and seaplanes of the French Navy met the *George Washington*, which brought us into Cherbourg, and escorted the *Leopoldina* out from Le Havre as we sailed.

And so it went. A visiting sovereign could have been received no more regally, for official France did her utmost

when she greeted the envoys of America's fighting sons and daughters.

These formal manifestations of the friendship of a nation so many Americans love second only to their own were pleasant to share, but the impression of *"la France reconnaissante"* might have been less compelling than it was without the corroborative evidence of the unofficial, informal and often impromptu welcomes which came straight from the bosoms of the people. It was as if the soil of France itself had grown articulate and spread its arms in greeting.

These evidences were remarkable in the south of France, where war's devastation had not extended; but in the old battle regions of the north and east, where the singing Yank attained the pinnacle of his glory, France, from her ruins, accorded us a measure of hospitality which to those present amounted to payment in full for the service rendered in the calendar years of 1917 and 1918. In the average span of life not many things transpire that should be called sublime, but I believe the Legionnaires' return to unshackled Alsace-Lorraine and to the old front was one of those rare, rare experiences.

In the battle country we were received as deliverers returned. The official itinerary took the route Thiaucourt, Flirey, St. Mihiel, Hattonchâtel, Etain, Verdun, Montfaucon, Romagne and Rheims; thence to Château-Thierry by way of the Marne valley; Belleau Wood, Vaux and Bourèsches. The main body moved in column of automobiles, but deployments without orders were in constant execution, covering virtually the whole of the American battlegrounds. Singly or by twos and threes these remembrance patrols slipped away.

The most splendid ceremonial spectacle became a matter of comparative indifference to the man who felt the call to rediscover his holy ground—the old dugout in which he lay the night before the jump-off; the billet where a blanket spread in a barn seemed like luxury, and was; the

smashed town his company took; the place where he was hit; the machine-gun enfiladed slope where a buddy dropped and went to his God like a soldier.

Such was the nature of the things which loomed largest to the pilgrims in the battle-zone. In the Argonne the National Commander took leave long enough to call at Exermont and fight his way through a mile of brambles, dogged by a tenacious French press photographer, to the spot where he had been wounded. Later he forsook a Paris ovation in favor of Cantigny and Soissons. A third of the whole party postponed their sailings, mostly in response to similar summons to the ashes of the campfires of memory. France is far, and the chance might never come again.

From their shack and cellar abodes among the melancholy ruins the inhabitants sometimes greeted for the first time men from the armies which had set free their land. But where the civil population had been evacuated during the liberating drives, it appeared that each returning villager had made it a point to ascertain the identity of the division or regiment which had re-won his particular town. Those regiments have become enshrined in the hearts of a thankful people. The village story-tellers have begun the weaving of their deeds into the fabric of fireside Iliads which, half fact, half fable, will become a share of the first education of romantic France's children's children.

At Belleau Cemetery, where pillowed in the soil of France 1,600 American Marne defenders sleep, an inspiring memorial service was held. The French Government sent representatives out from Paris. Deputations of war orphans bearing flowers came from Château-Thierry and the villages about. In moving phrases an eloquent and distinguished French statesman pledged our country the eternal unforgetfulness of France. The picture was impressive and singularly touching. But what reached deepest that day into the hearts of those who saw it was an incident that had no place among the preconceived arrangements.

Some distance apart from the principal assemblage was perceived a bent old peasant woman. Up and down the rows of immaculate crosses she went, pursuing a methodical search for a special grave. Her eyes were none too good, and, like as not, her comprehension of the English lettering on the crosses was none too keen, for she sought long and painstakingly before she paused at length and placed a beautiful bouquet of field flowers on the mound which was the object of her quest. She knelt and clasped her hands. Her lips moved in inaudible prayer. She made the sign of the cross, rose and hobbled away at her best pace, obviously disconcerted by the notice her rite had drawn from those who had discovered her.

The venerable madame's tribute had been paid, her simple orthodox prayer said for the repose of the soul of "An Unknown U. S. Soldier."

The spirit of France found reflection in Belgium, where the party spent two days at the invitation of King Albert. His democratic Majesty received us in the palace at Brussels, thanked the Legion for carrying on in peace the ideals for which our armies had fought, conferred decorations,* shook hands with everybody and chatted in good soldier English for half an hour over lemonade and tea.

"We wish you to feel at home in Belgium," he said, commenting on the choice of royal refreshments.

After the stay in Belgium Mr. Emery headed an unofficial group which visited the British Isles.

The effect of the visit on European veterandom and European public opinion generally was significant. The

* The National Commander was made Commander of the Order of Leopold I; Henry D. Lindsley and Milton J. Foreman, Commanders of the Order of the Crown, and W. deLancey Kountze, vice-chairman of the tour organization, and John J. Wicker, jr., manager of the tour, Officier and Chevalier respectively of the Order of Leopold I. At the instance of their holders these decorations will be deposited at National Headquarters. The King paid Belgium's tribute to American heroism in battle by conferring on George B. Secrist of Indianapolis and Lexie Downham, of Jonesboro, Ind., the gold medal of the Order of Leopold II. Secrist was a private in Battery A, 150th Field Artillery; Downham a private in B Company, Twenty-eighth Infantry.

The French honors were the insignias of Commander of the Legion of Honor, conferred on Commander Emery and Mr. D'Olier; of Officier of the Legion of Honor conferred on Mr. Foreman; of Chevalier conferred on Mr. Kountze.

party comprised two hundred members, representing thirty-five States and every arm and branch of military and naval forces. In Europe, where veterans associations are more numerous than effective, this manifestation produced a singular impression. The Legion was regarded as a sort of Yankee phenomenon, like the A. E. F.—without precedent, but an accomplished fact and worthy of emulation.

The arms limitations conference called by President Harding to meet in Washington the coming December lent new importance to Mr. Emery's addresses on world peace. At Flirey he said:

"Blood is mixed with the mortar that holds these stones erect. Bayonets beat into trowels spread it there. Magnificent as this tribute is and proud as I am to behold it, I pray that it may be the last monument France may ever have cause to erect to an American soldier. And by the same token may America never have cause to raise a shaft to a French soldier of another war.

"The time has come when the end of wars and of tremendous warlike armaments should no longer be considered in the light of an impossible dream. When America entered the late war on the side of France and her allies, it was the fervent hope of our people that this should be the last of wars. Is not that hope echoed in the heart of every veteran? Is it not the ambition of every veteran of every nationality to continue to serve the ideals for which we fought? That ideal leads us squarely to the question of disarmament. We are the ones who have the right to point the way to an understanding whereby the ruinous policy of national rivalry in armament shall cease.

"The United States is supporting the greatest and most expensive navy in its history. France maintains today the most powerful standing army on the face of the earth. Are these the conditions we sacrificed so dearly of blood and treasure to bring about?

"We are familiar, of course, with the reasons which

make the maintenance of these armaments a necessity to national protection today. But these reasons are predicated on conditions which can be changed, and to contend they cannot be changed is to confess that civilization is a failure and that man has become incompetent to control his own affairs.

"Let the veterans of America and France, strong in the tradition of victory, turn their energies to the problem of disarmament as a guarantee of future peace. If we unite and have the courage to speak what is in our hearts nothing can successfully oppose us. The victory of November 11th, 1918, will become the final triumph of humanity and not what the name we have given that day now indicates—merely an armistice which inevitably shall end in new conflicts and the further desolation of mankind."

Le Journal, of Paris, proclaimed the "first effect" of our journey to be an agitation for the union of all French ex-service bodies in one organization. There were then five large and 140 smaller veteran societies in France, according to this authority. *Le Fanion*, a veterans publication, would have the consolidated French organization take the name Legion Française, and as many of the characteristics of the American model as it will be possible to transplant to France. Discussing the Legion visit this journal says:

"They leave with us the vision of a strong and compelling example, a French Legion which shall unite, in the same desire to serve, all the former combatants who are now loosely grouped in scattered associations."

I come now to two incidents in connection with the French pilgrimage which I publish in part for personal reasons, and I offer apologies accordingly. They concern one false report and one petty little affair, which deserve only to be ignored in connection with a thing as splendid and fine as that journey to France. But I shall note these things because, as undeserving stories often do, they have circulated widely, and I feel their omission here might be con-

strued not only as a tacit admission of their truth, but also as a reflection on the integrity of this modest volume which aims to be, within its scope, a full and uninfluenced history of the Legion.

According to newspaper accounts, there was a near-riot on the *George Washington* as the vessel skirted the Irish coast. Legionnaires of Irish extraction abroad shouted "To hell with England," cheered the "coming victory" of the Sinn Fein and rebuked Commander Emery when he tried to restrain them. The attitude of these Irish-Americans prevented Mr. Emery from accepting an invitation from the King for the party to visit England, it was said.

This story is simply without a vestige of truth. There were several Legionnaires of Irish extraction in the party. There were also several Irish-American passengers who were intensely sympathetic with the Sinn Fein cause, but they were not members of the Legion party. These individuals endeavored to cause a demonstration among the Legionnaires, but failed entirely. Most of them left the ship at Plymouth, England. One, a writer, continued to Cherbourg. It is probable that the newspaper accounts were the inspiration of his inventive mind.

The second incident concerns the "indignation" meeting which was held aboard the *Leopoldina* coming home. The roots of the protest for which the meeting was called to voice lay back in the early days of the journey, when the party had left Paris for the South. Complaint arose among a few members of the party with reference to hotel accommodations and the employment of military formations in moving from place to place. There was also a suggestion of the feeling that certain members of the party—the ranking officials—were being accorded undue attentions at the functions and that the others, as one later put it, were spear carriers. When Lyons was reached a caucus was held in a hotel, which Mr. Emery attended and at which he offered explanations.

These explanations did not cure the ill. A good-natured

JOBS FOR VETERANS

A Scene at a Los Angeles Post Headquarters During the Employment Drive of 1922

enthusiast took the meeting out of Mr. Emery's hands, roundly denouncing the "malcontents," and called for three rousing cheers for old John Emery. The cheers were given and that broke up the meeting with its purpose unaccomplished. The psychological effect was the worst possible.

Of course, it is easy enough now to see what should have been done; that all came out on the boat. A frank explanation should have been made that the conduct of the tour was entirely out of American hands and the French way of doing such things is not our way. We were the honored guests of France and our protests had to assume the diplomatic aspect of suggestions. Hotel accommodations were the best that could be had at the height of the tourist season. Had it not been for the indefatigable Jack Wicker, the Legion's tour manager, they would have been worse.

Arrangements for formal functions were made solely by the French, and on no occasion was it known except in a general way what was on a program until it started. Dr. Marcel Knecht, French Foreign Office agent in America, had gone abroad ahead of the party and laid out the schedule in minute detail. He accompanied the party on the tour and saw that this schedule was carried out. Dr. Knecht originated the pilgrimage idea. He is a learned man, but he is no authority on American psychology. The party had its head and spokesman—Commander Emery. There were three former heads of the Legion present—Mr. Foreman, Mr. Lindsley and Mr. D'Olier—and obviously they should occupy places of special honor. But the Old World and the New World have different notions as to what constitutes democracy even where honors are concerned, and it seemed that the Old World notion was served on that trip.

The military formations were Mr. Emery's idea, and a good idea. In no other way could the arduous and exacting itinerary have been carried out without mishap.

These things should have been explained at Lyons, but they were not and the misunderstanding continued. The

tour was concluded so brilliantly, however, that superficial differences would have been laughed off on the homebound voyage had the party drawn a vessel in which it could have travelled in comfort. Conditions aboard the *Leopoldina* were reminiscent of transport days. The food was inferior, and many of the cabins were below the waterline where the air hadn't been changed since the boat was built.

That was the culminating straw. A meeting was called and James M. Hanley of South Dakota elected chairman. Mr. Hanley had presided over the legislature in his State and he handled the situation well. For three days troubles were aired, belated explanations made and everything simmered down to a resolution that the pilgrims would be just as glad if Dr. Knecht did not accompany Marshal Foch on his American tour. Finally Charles W. Montgomery of Ohio made this speech:

"I have listened for three days to persons who feel they have been slighted. I want to say I was not one of them. I walked in the rear rank. I carried a spear. I slept in bum beds and I got no medals. But I want to say I am carrying back to the United States memories of an experience I shall never forget. The crowned heads and the rulers of nations have honored us representative Americans, and to think I was one of them, however humble, fills me with pride. I for one have no complaint to make. I had my money's worth."

There were cheers for Montgomery and cheers for Emery and that ended it. At New Orleans a year later I saw one of the ringleaders of the "malcontents," a man who had had a "real" grievance. But he could not recall what it was about. Said he had forgotten it long ago.

CHAPTER XX

THE SPECTACLE OF KANSAS CITY

THE third National Convention at Kansas City was a homecoming and reunion of one hundred thousand American fighting men from every clime on earth, a deliberative assembly at which the representatives of a million such men sought to furnish new proof that they are still in their country's service, a significant and magnificent patriotic spectacle such as this generation may never see again.

The convention caught and held the gaze of a world that saw the veteran at work, at play, and exalted to ecstasy by the presence of the great figures of the war who had crossed the waters to repledge to America the brotherhood-fealty of the men they had led, receiving in return America's pledges in kind.

The veteran at work was the veteran in national convention assembled on the 31st of October and the first and second days of November, 1921. More than a thousand delegates, from every State and from every quarter of the globe in which the Legion has its outposts, toiled on the floor of the great convention hall, in twenty committees and sub-committees, in spirited sessions of the committee of the whole, while thousands looked on from the galleries. The great ones of the world looked on, and the whole Nation, as well as many of the peoples of other nations, envisioned the spectacle through the eyes of the two hundred emissaries of the press who were on the spot. Thus did the American Legion transact its official business. It was largely the Nation's business—ways and means, as seen by the veteran, of promoting a more wholesome citizenship, of protecting, strengthening, safeguarding the institutions of government under which this country has grown strong.

The veteran at play was the veteran everywhere in Kansas City, which kept open house. He was the veteran

reunited with men of his old company, his old regiment, his old ship or station, his old division. He was the American gob and doughboy on leave, his troubles packed up in the old kit bag which had been left far behind. He was the man who transformed the Meuhlebach and Baltimore and all the other hotels into barracks and billets, their dining-halls into mess-rooms. To the music of a hundred bands, he frolicked. Taps never sounded. He paraded, shouted, danced the clock around. Twelfth street and Petticoat Lane were as mirthful and colorful at 4 a.m. as at noon. It was the old spirit of camaraderie that only those home from the wars can know.

The ladies were not lacking to complete the picture—ex-service women of Army Nurse Corps, yeomen(f) of the Navy, Signal Corps and Quartermaster girls. The Legion Auxiliary convention brought mothers, wives and daughters. It was stimulating, "and as harmless," said Mrs. Mary Roberts Rinehart, who was there with her Legionnaire husband and Legionnaire sons, "as college boys on a lark after winning the season's big game."

The veteran exalted to ecstasy by the presence of the great—of this circumstance Rixey Smith wrote in the *Weekly:*

> The convention was touched to greatness by greatness. Like the lad in Hawthorne's story of "The Great Stone Face," it looked upon greatness until it was itself great. And such faces as it had to look upon! There was Foch, head of the military coalition that crushed the German war machine; Beatty, admiral of the British Grand Fleet; Diaz, generalissimo of the Italian Armies and savior of Italy; Jacques, hero of heroic Belgium; Pershing, commander-in-chief of the A. E. F.; Rodman, admiral of the American naval forces in British waters; Lejeune, head of the United States Marine Corps and sometime commander of the Second Division; and Calvin Coolidge, vice-president of the United States.

That these men had come, many of them from a far distance, to do us honor gave to the convention its predominating note; raised it to the rank of a spectacle of the first magnitude. It was more than a spectacle inviting to

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the eye—though it was that, also; it was a spectacle that gripped the imagination and touched the soul. It was not tinsel. It was reality.

Came Calvin Coolidge, terse-spoken Yankee of Vermont, now Vice-President of the United States. His message was the message of the Chief Executive. The Vice-President spoke at the opening session of the Government's pride in the Legion and emphasized his Chief's concern for the welfare of the disabled veteran.

That afternoon came Diaz, Jacques and Lejeune and the convention was stirred to new depths. Diaz spoke in his own tongue. "Italy remembers and appreciates," he said. He called for a closer union, for a closer understanding between the veterans of the world. Their aims were one, their efforts should move together, he said.

The engaging Jacques bravely led off in English. A vet yelled "Attaboy!" and the Belgian answered with the old army high-sign, and went on to confirm the suspicion that he knew a thing or two of the manners of American soldiers. They had fought under his command in Belgium, and the Legion's late leader, whose flag-draped portrait stood on the stage, was one of their number. Jacques thanked us for what America had done for Belgium before we entered the war. He thanked us for the services of our troops, for the friendship of our veterans.

The blunt Lejeune said he had three claims to fame. He was a Marine. He had commanded the Second Division. He was a member of the American Legion.

The stars came out on "Navy night." Earl Beatty, captivating, picturesque, a flesh and blood embodiment of the romance and strength of the British senior service, came. He was a wonderful ambassador. His wife is American, "and that makes my children, you know, rather half American." He spoke of the unselfish purposes that had actuated America in the war. Rodman, U. S. N., prefaced

his brief remarks of greeting by leading the cheers for his British comrade.

Next morning—Tuesday—was the climax of the convention hall demonstrations. Foch and Pershing took our salute. The Marshal's arrival the evening before was an event in itself. The Legion's special train, which brought him from New York by way of Washington, came into the Union Station just after nightfall. It is an imposing station—one of America's finest—and it has an imposing setting. In front stretches a plaza, on one side—the south—mantles a cliff and to the north lies the business section of Kansas City. One hundred thousand gathered to greet the Allies' High Commander. They filled the plaza, except for a lane kept by troops; they covered the cliff, whose crest exposed in silhouette the shaft of the memorial to Kansas City's soldier and sailor dead, which next day the Marshal was to dedicate. As the visitor and his escort stepped from the station rotunda a cheer went up, cannon boomed and flares turned the night into day.

Pershing spoke first at the convention hall on Tuesday morning. The outburst was deafening. A parade of standards moved toward the stage, led by Nebraska and Missouri, both of which States claim the General as their own. "Today," said Pershing, smiling, "I am an ordinary buddy of the rear rank."

And then—a horizon-blue-clad figure stepped briskly forward. The great moment was there. Stillness fell. Commander Emery said:

"The Marshal of France."

The hush endured for a second longer, and then gave way to a demonstration which those who have searched the annals say surpassed any welcome ever accorded a foreigner on American soil. It differed from a welcome Americans give to Americans; such as the convention, for example, had just given Pershing. There was no parade of standards, no impetuous rush to embrace the object of

their acclaim or hoist him on exultant shoulders. It was admiration to the pitch of hero-worship with a visible tincture of awe and respect. Time pressed or there is no saying how long the rolling salvos of applause would have kept up. Commander Emery restored silence and Foch, in a voice shaken with emotion, delivered his address.

"*Officiers, sous-officiers et soldats de la grand Armée Américaine,*" began the Marshal. "*Chers camarades de la Légion Américaine . . .*"

Foch is not an orator. His speech read like a field order. It was a compact, cogent summary of the American effort in the war; one of the most concise and yet complete statements of that subject that has ever been made. He concluded:

"As for me, the great honor of my life will be to have guided along the road to victory the American Army of 1918, which was a true 'Grand Army,' beginning with its Commander."

The conclusion of the Marshal's speech was the signal for a second outburst, which, while shorter, was more freely vociferous and American than the first. The Marshal and the Legion were getting acquainted. Then two tall Montanans mounted the stage and made the Marshal a present. The gift was a baby bob-cat named Theodora which the Montana delegation had brought to Kansas City in an airplane. The bob-cat incident, the propriety of which had been seriously debated, made a great hit with Foch. He treasured the animal as a pet, and carried it half way around the United States with him. He used to have it brought into the stateroom of his private car, stroke its fur and listen to its purr—much to the terror of some of the members of his staff. It was Theodora, he said, that first revealed to him the heart of the Legion. Theodora is in the Paris Zoo now, and seems to like it there. A tablet tells who she is and where she came from.

Tuesday afternoon witnessed the crowning achieve-

ment of the convention spectacle—the parade. Not since the pageant of Victory Day in Paris on July 14th, 1919, has the world seen anything that approached it; not since then had the heads of the great military and naval powers which won the war marched together, and in all likelihood they will never so march again. Foch, Beatty, Diaz, Jacques, Pershing, Rodman, Lejeune—they met under the Legion emblem, a symbol of vigilant victors, united and watchful of the fruits of their triumph.

Must it not have been a significant occasion and a significant force that brought these personages together? It was the occasion of a National Convention of the American Legion. It was the force of that Legion, which Foch said "holds the future of America." What other occasion or force could have done it?

The convention spectacle survived the convention itself. On Armistice Day the Legion's distinguished foreign guests joined with the distinguished and the humble of the Nation in honoring at Arlington Cemetery America's Unknown Soldier. The Legion had put in motion the effort which brought the Unknown home, his sepulcher to be a national shrine. At the meeting of the National Executive Committee the February preceding, it was recommended by resolution to the President. Simultaneously, two Legion members, one a Senator, one a Representative, introduced the necessary bills in Congress. Two flags and two only flew over the bowed heads of the multitude who on November 11th, 1921, saw the earth receive the ashes of that hero. One was the Stars and Stripes. One was the emblem of the American Legion.

Before their return abroad the Legion's guests were shown something of the United States. The most extensive tour was made by Marshal Foch. It was a pilgrimage which recalled to contemporary commentators the second visit to the United States of Lafayette in 1824. The itinerary carried the Marshal from Boston, through Chicago,

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General Baron Jacques, Belgium; Generalissimo Armando Diaz, Italy; Marshal Foch, France; General Pershing, U. S. A; Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty, Great Britain

Minneapolis and St. Paul to Seattle, thence to San Francisco and Los Angeles, returning by way of the Southern tier of States to New Orleans, Atlanta and up the Atlantic seaboard.

The initial receptions at New York, the entertainment, tours and the departure of the foreign visitors were controlled and arranged entirely by the Legion, which, however, made every endeavor not to monopolize the honors. It was an executive accomplishment of the first order, and to mention one of a thousand difficulties, a feat absolutely without modern precedent in the United States. It required the creation of an extraordinary organization which worked twenty-four hours a day, its activities covering twenty States simultaneously at times. The work was directed throughout by Alton T. Roberts of Marquette, Michigan, chairman, and Mr. D'Olier, vice-chairman of the Distinguished Visitors Committee.

It is time we returned to other aspects of the convention at Kansas City. While it was unfolding these brilliant tableaux before the Nation, the Legion, through its 1,070 delegates, had other things to do, and was doing them.

The convention enthusiastically reiterated its position on adjusted compensation. In delegation caucuses and committee meetings where the subject was discussed bitter resentment of President Harding's action in blocking the passage of the McCumber bill was manifest. It seemed for a time such discussion would find its way to the floor, but more conservative counsel prevailed. Gilbert Bettman, chairman of the National Legislative Committee, who had borne the brunt of the fight for the bill, appealed to the delegates to lay aside personalities.

"Let us do nothing that will give this question the complexion of a political matter," he urged the convention.

Three resolutions were adopted on the subject. The President's action and the acquiescence of Congress to his request were merely "deplored." National Vice-Commander Scrugham, who presented the report of the con-

vention legislative committee, was more pointed in his remarks, which were vociferously applauded.

"The adjusted compensation bill was unexpectedly defeated in the Senate through its re-committment on July 15th, 1921," he declared. "The act aroused widespread resentment among the ex-service men throughout the country and their families, primarily by reason of the fact that it appeared that a small minority had dominated and overcome the will of the majority. Approximately three-fourths of the membership of the Senate and the House had expressed themselves as being in favor of the measure. Wherever the principle of adjusted compensation had been submitted to the will of the people, it had carried by majorities ranging from eight to one to two to one. The situation was further aggravated by the circumstance that the chief individual factor in the misrepresentation of the probable consequences of the bill and its subsequent defeat was a person who appears to have been the greatest war profiteer of all recorded history. However, it would ill become the Legion to lower the dignity of this organization through splenetic personal attacks on any individual or individuals, however powerful they may be."

Mr. Scrugham then presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the adjusted compensation measure provides for the payment of the Nation's just obligations to the service men and women for the financial and economical handicap suffered by them incident to their service; and

Whereas, the Nation should and is paying all of its other war debts and obligations; and

Whereas, the obligation of the Nation to its soldiers arises by reason of economic handicap suffered by them because of their service, which economic handicap is at this time felt with especial severity because of widespread general unemployment; and

Whereas, after careful consideration of all the arguments advanced in opposition to the measure, including the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury and the address of the President to Congress, we still firmly believe in the justice, fairness, and immediate necessity of the Adjusted Compensation Measure; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved, that the American Legion, in National Convention assembled, reaffirms its stand upon adjusted compensation and asks that the Congress of the United States pass this measure without further equivocation or delay.

The convention's attitude toward the disabled question was one of gratitude over the creation of the Veterans Bureau and of hope that the Bureau's administration would carry out the spirit as well as the letter of the new laws. The convention adopted the carefully evolved report of the Committee on Rehabilitation which was headed by Abel Davis of Chicago, one of Galbraith's right-hand men in his long disabled fight. The report clearly foresaw the source of possible complications and disappointments. It recommended that the Legion take an attitude of watchful waiting toward the Veterans Bureau, giving the new organization a chance to get on its feet and meet its problems. It stressed these points:

1. That there should be no interference with the Committee of Hospital Consultants, headed by Dr. William Charles White, of Pittsburgh, and to which had been delegated authority to carry out the hospital building program under the $18,600,000 appropriation.

2. That the "Legion must be continually on guard to prevent any attempt to interfere with the work of the new Veterans Bureau by political interference."

It turned out that these points were well taken.

The convention endorsed the principle of international limitation of armaments, and the conference of the powers which had been called by the President for that purpose. At the same time it went on record as favoring a preparedness policy that should be consistent with world conditions. There were specific recommendations with reference to the Navy. It was urged that a regular and reserve naval force be maintained sufficient to man effectively all craft; also the development of specialized arms, such as the submarine, in accordance with the lessons of the war; the maintenance

of adequate bases on both coasts and stations in the foreign possessions, and the working out of mobilization plans that should include the merchant marine, the upbuilding of which was advocated.

The convention declared military appropriations should not be cut so as to cripple the plan of national defense called for under the Army Reorganization Act, and that the system of co-ordination among the Regular establishment, Organized Reserves and National Guard be carried out.

Other actions of general concern follow:

Reaffirmed the Legion's previous stand against Oriental immigration and against granting citizenship rights to Orientals now in this country.

Favored the exclusion of all aliens for a period of five years, provided, however, that fathers, mothers, wives and husbands of American citizens be allowed admission; urged strict examination of prospective immigrants in their native lands; advocated uniform and dignified naturalization ceremonies and establishment of a knowledge of civics and American history as a prerequisite for citizenship.

Urged that November 11th be made a national holiday.

Urged that laws requiring that the flag be raised over all schools be passed in the twelve States which have not such laws on their statute books already. Urged also a national campaign to insure against disrespect to the flag in advertising.

Endorsed the program of the National Educational Association calling for education of native-born and foreign-born citizens in American history, government, ideals and traditions.

Urged that the schools be freed of any suspicion of partisan politics.

Recommended that the Legion discourage the distribution, purchase and sale of all radical literature, and keep a watch on all radical propagandists; and that officials of Legion posts be urged to notify peace officers of contemplated meetings of radicals which would transgress the law.

Urged adequate laws for the punishment of disloyalty in the schools and requiring that the oath of allegiance be taken by teachers.

Recommended that Congress make further provisions for financing the entry of ex-service men upon homestead lands.

Urged President to issue an Executive Order to guarantee all ex-service persons preference in securing and holding appointments and in being promoted in the classified Civil Service, as provided for in existing laws.

Condemned the sentiments uttered by George Harvey, the American Ambassador in London, on America's reasons for entering the World War.

FROM THE PARADE AT KANSAS CITY, 1921

Hanford MacNider was the swift and unanimous choice for National Commander. In no preceding convention had there been as much pre-election gossip as to the fight to be waged on the floor for that honor—and in no preceding convention was the final result more apparent after the first nominating speech had been made.

Alabama yielded to Iowa and Daniel F. Steck placed the name of MacNider before the convention. A rousing demonstration followed. Arizona then yielded to New York, which seconded the nomination of MacNider, evoking another demonstration. Arkansas yielded to Missouri, which placed in nomination the name of its department commander, John Williams of Joplin. Hawaii yielded to Oklahoma, and Fuquay of that State nominated Roy Hoffman. Indiana then seconded MacNider. Kentucky nominated Emmet O'Neal, National Executive Committeeman from that State, and Nebraska nominated one of her favorite sons, Earl Cline.

After New Hampshire had seconded Williams's nomination, a MacNider landslide developed. Seconds came in rapid succession from North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota and Tennessee. Texas yielded to Oklahoma, whereupon Mr. Hoffman withdrew his name and endorsed MacNider. Mr. Cline withdrew soon afterward and then, after several other States had been called, Mr. Williams withdrew his name and moved that the election of Mr. MacNider be made unanimous.

The National Vice-Commanders elected were George L. Berry of Tennessee; Raymond O. Brackett of Massachusetts; John A. MacCormack of Colorado; Charles S. Kendrick of California, and Dr. H. Nelson Jackson of Vermont.

Reverend Earl Blackman of Chanute, Kansas, former chaplain of the Thirty-fifth Division, was elected National Chaplain after a spirited contest in which four ballots were taken. On the first roll-call, the other candidates were

Reverend Joseph Allen Wolf of Pennsylvania and Reverend E. Porter of Montana. Mr. Porter then withdrew his name, and the proponents of the two remaining candidates fought out the ballot battle, Mr. Blackman winning by 496 votes.

The birthday convention of the American Legion Auxiliary was held in Kansas City at the same time, and the permanent organization of that Legion helpmeet was established. At Minneapolis the Legion made provision for an auxiliary to which the mothers, wives, widows, sisters and daughters of Legion members or men who died in service should be eligible. Several local units were established during the next year. A temporary national organization was created after the Cleveland convention, with Miss Pauline C. Curnick of Indianapolis as secretary and chief administrative officer. Under Miss Curnick thirty-seven department organizations and more than a thousand local units were formed. The first National Convention of the Auxiliary at Kansas City marked the administrative separation of that body from the Legion. Mrs. Lowell F. Hobart of Cincinnati was chosen National President and the Auxiliary embarked upon its independent career.

CHAPTER XXI

THE UNEMPLOYED: HOSPITALS AND POLITICS

By putting a half million unemployed veterans to work as a result of a localized national effort of three weeks' duration, the American Legion contributed heavily to the push which in the spring of 1922 turned back the tide of industrial depression that had held the country in the grip of uncertainty and misery for eighteen months.

The Legion relieved the unemployment problem after a national conference called by the Federal Government and a series of scattered State and community efforts had tried and failed to materially better the situation. It would be unjust however, to criticize the efforts which preceded that of the Legion. They were helpful, even if slightly too theoretical and abstract in some of their particulars. Possibly they were put forward at the wrong time. The Legion was given credit for selecting "almost to a day," as one commentator remarked, the psychologically correct time for its drive. If so, the element of chance was on the Legion's side in that detail.

Five million wage earners were idle in the summer of 1921. In September a survey revealed that more than 800,000 of these were ex-service men, which brought the Legion to a keen realization of its own responsibilities in the matter. Every sixth man who had gone to war was without work. An ironical touch was that the veteran was hit harder than any other class. Whatever his trade or calling, while at war he had lost one or two years in the economic race. He came back the new employee who was first to suffer from the weeding process which marched abreast with the slack times.

In the closing weeks of his tenure as Commander, Mr. Emery appointed a committee which devised suggestions for localities and broadcasted a warning against migration and congestion in the cities. These had their effect, but they

did no more than to stem the tide; to prevent an actual increase in the ranks of the jobless army. General conditions, while slow to improve, got no worse. Government statisticians say the peak of unemployment was reached in November or December of 1921.

But while the general situation grew no worse, it grew appreciably no better. In January of 1922 the Legion rechecked its survey and found approximately 800,000 veterans still without employment. The special and individual situation concerning these 800,000 was measurably worse than it had been four months before. Savings had been spent and credit exhausted. In matters of both savings and credit the veteran was in a position greatly inferior to that of his fellow-worker who had not gone to war. The man who stayed at home reaped the benefit of war-time wages. True, he faced an era of unprecedentedly high prices. The soldier and sailor could save nothing from their pay. Their families at home faced the same inflated prices, often with only the slender allotment of the bread-winner who was in camp or at the front to fall back upon.

With reserves exhausted and credit gone the situation of several hundred thousand unemployed ex-service men had become desperate. Charities were overtaxed, there were bread-lines in the cities and rumors of bread-riots and another "Coxey's army." The Legion already was doing much. It maintained employment bureaus in many cities. It set up messes for the hungry and turned vacant buildings into barracks for the homeless.

One Sunday early in February Commander MacNider wired from Boston requesting that Adjutant Bolles devise and submit to him a plan for a nation-wide campaign to give veterans work. The Commander appended a number of specific suggestions, the principal one being that the drive should be inaugurated throughout the country on a given date which should be designated as American Legion Employment Day, when in every city and town in the country

ALBERT A. SPRAGUE

meetings should be held to pledge each community to care for its own. Mr. Bolles summoned the headquarters staff immediately and before nightfall formulation of a working plan for the effort was under way.

It was determined that March 20th should be American Legion Employment Day. It was the earliest date possible, calculating the time factor in the compilation, printing and distribution of instructions to 11,000 posts; enlistment of outside co-operation, both nationally and locally; the required publicity, national and local, and other details of organization without which the best-planned effort must fail. This work went forward by forced draft under the direction of Mr. MacNider and Mr. Bolles. The Commander kept in touch by wire and telephone as he continued his itinerary, westward to Chicago and south as far as Florida, speaking three and four times a day.

In the simplicity of the plan lay its success. The slogan was, "The community cares for its own." The floater had to float back home to get consideration. In each community was organized under the auspices of the Legion post or county council a Committee on Survey on which sat representatives of the churches, business and professional associations and other local bodies. The object was to make this committee as strong and as representative as possible. The committee's task was to survey the local situation, listing if possible all unemployed veterans, and studying means of stimulating employment.

Committees urged Mayors to designate March 20th as American Legion Employment Day by proclamation, and to call general mass meetings urging employers in particular to attend. At these meetings the chairman of each committee reported, detailing the situation, telling the number of veterans out of work, and suggesting remedies. Governors of States were asked to issue proclamations, which most of them did; and a score of national bodies, such as the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Kiwanis

and Rotary Clubs, Y. M. C. A., and others were induced to call upon their local units to join the effort.

The actual conduct of the campaign was in charge of Alvin Owsley, director of the Americanism Commission. On March 20th the "Day" was almost universally observed. The local committees had done their work with remarkable thoroughness. They confronted the community employers with practical and workable suggestions for putting more men in employment and the employers undertook their share of the obligation. By noon the next day there were reports of success from almost every State. One hundred thousand men were working. In Detroit the Ford Motor Company increased its forces twenty per cent. and gave jobs to veterans exclusively. Other large employers followed suit. In three weeks 500,000 had been taken care of and trade reports reflected healthier conditions generally.

The welfare of the disabled continued to absorb a large part of the energies of the national organization. The Kansas City Convention had made a bargain with the new Veterans Bureau which Commander MacNider kept to the letter. When the President appointed Charles R. Forbes director of that Bureau he gave him one of the most difficult jobs in the government service. Appreciating this, Mr. MacNider assured Mr. Forbes that miracles would not be expected. The Legion was pledged to complete co-operation. Mr. MacNider said he would undertake to withhold public criticism and give the new Bureau a chance.

To insure co-operation the Legion placed a liaison officer in each of the fourteen regional districts into which the Bureau had divided the country. Under the chairmanship of A. A. Sprague of Chicago, the Legion's National Rehabilitation Committee was reorganized expressly to support the Bureau. Fourteen sub-committees were appointed in the fourteen regional districts, and Mr. Sprague forsook his business to devote practically his entire time to

a study of disabled problems as revealed by the voluminous reports he gathered from his sub-committees.

For ten months the Legion pursued this policy. What it did, it did without comment, excepting such as would tend to reassure the veterans and the public and to avert hasty judgment. Most of what the public and the veterans were permitted to read of the Bureau emanated from the Bureau's publicity office in Washington. These utterances were frequently misleading. The real difficulties were carefully obscured. The Legion membership began to suspect that all was not well, and in May of 1922 Mr. MacNider told the *Weekly* to look the situation over and print the real story. This resulted in the disclosure of Brigadier-General Charles E. Sawyer's obstructionist tactics and aroused a controversy that assumed national proportions.

The Veterans Bureau is a mammoth institution. Its insurance division, which handles the War Risk policies, was coming on well. The payment of disability compensation also was straightening out and veterans were getting their money without the long delays which had caused suffering in the past. Vocational training left much to be desired, but improvement was noticeable. But on the question of hospitalization, on which the most pains, the most money and the most time had been spent—there the situation was bad and the outlook disturbing.

Bureau figures of that date—June, 1922—gave 28,555 men in hospitals suffering from wounds or disease of service origin. Of this number 9,259 were not in hospitals owned or leased by the Government. They were farmed out to private and public institutions at so much per head, victims of the pernicious "contract system"—always abhorrent, though once defensible on grounds of emergency, but defensible now on no grounds whatsoever. Half of the patients suffering from mental afflictions were so farmed out, usually to ordinary madhouses where an inmate is given "custodial care," which is an agreeable term for detention. Such spe-

cialists as Dr. Thomas W. Salmon declared that hundreds of mildly affected veterans whose reason could be restored by proper treatment were doomed to irretrievable insanity unless changed to other environs. It was found that while certain Ohio State institutions in 1920 had collected $547 a year for each mentally afflicted veteran under contract, they had actually made an average profit of $200 a man! Government hospitals spend not less than $1,000 a year on each patient. Ohio had not been the only offender, however.

In this state of affairs one wondered, naturally, what had been done with the $18,600,000 hospital building appropriation the Legion had put through Congress and which had become available March 4th, 1921. The allocation of this fund to various projects was left to a committee of specialists headed by Dr. William Charles White of Pittsburgh. By the end of June of that year the committee's program was complete. It embodied the efforts of the best medical brains in America. It gave to the United States a plan for a national system of health reconstruction and maintenance second to none in the world.

Science may propose but politics disposes at Washington. Fifteen months later found the White program calling for 6,800 beds not complete as it should have been, but hampered, pared down and distorted. It had produced 989 beds, all in old remodeled structures. The blame lay with the sluggishness of the Treasury Department, which was in charge of construction, and with General Sawyer, the President's personal physician, who clung to the opinion which led him to dissent from the report of the Dawes Committee, holding that additional hospitals were unnecessary and would represent a public extravagance. General Sawyer had constantly delayed action on hospital projects, preached economy, and differed from the expert consultants, announcing on one occasion, "I am using my influence wherever possible to prevent undue expenditure and undue elaboration of the high-powered hospital."

While General Sawyer and others were using their influence in this manner the Legion was fighting to get hospitals built. With hope abandoned for the results desired of the $18,600,000 fund the Legion caused the introduction of a bill to grant an additional $17,000,000, and began a fight to keep this money clear of the entangling influences which had enmeshed the former appropriation. This meant clear of General Sawyer and the Treasury Department. The Legion wanted the money placed at the disposal of the Veterans Bureau. Meantime, however, General Sawyer had improved his position. The President had created the Federal Board of Hospitalization with General Sawyer as Chairman, or Chief Co-ordinator. Thus reinforced the General began a tenacious campaign to obtain control of the new fund. Mr. Sprague opposed him with vigor and won. The contest was carried on without recourse to publicity. The law provided that the $17,000,000 should be expended by the Veterans Bureau.

The publication by the *Weekly* of these facts created something of a sensation, but General Sawyer was undeterred. He declined to accept as final the law governing this appropriation. In July he wrote Mr. Sprague:

> I hesitate to eulogize the Federal Board of Hospitalization [wrote General Sawyer] but if you will stop to think it over I feel sure you will agree that if those matters (hospital construction) were left to the Federal Board and all outside influence eliminated, the whole matter would get on with much greater speed and develop finally more efficiently and certainly with greater economy. I am opposed to the domination of people outside of the Government forces in this matter. . . . If the Government is to be influenced by outside organizations, associations or specialists committees we will continue to be in trouble.

This letter acted somewhat as a match in a powder magazine. The American Legion was being shown the door with the intimation that the hinges were in working order. It was evident that "outside influences" were not wanted by General Sawyer, whose public interest in the welfare of disabled veterans dated from March of 1921 when he left

Marion, Ohio, to become a part of the military forces of the United States.

Mr. Sprague was unable to accede to General Sawyer's request. In a temperate letter he directed the General's attention to the plain fact that the Government had failed "miserably" to discharge its obligations to the disabled, and that despite the General's distaste for " 'outside organizations, associations and specialists committees' every bit of legislation now in effect for the disabled veteran was written and put through Congress by the American Legion." Mr. Sprague sketched briefly the situation as it was before the "outside influences," of which General Sawyer had such a low opinion, took charge and put the Government's house in order. He recited what these "outside influences," under Legion leadership had done. They had consolidated responsibility for veteran relief under one head, providing it with a needed hospital building program and with the funds with which that program could be carried out. Now a truly "outside" and disturbing force, namely General Sawyer himself, was curtailing and hampering, and the veteran was the sufferer. Mr. Sprague concluded:

> Four years have already passed and the veteran is not yet provided for. A belated program is now being held up and changed. It is being changed to meet your approval.
>
> I appeal to you, sir, to stand aside and allow this program of the Veterans Bureau to go into effect and at once.

Mr. Sprague's letter was handed to the press, and the controversy which followed became national news. The result was the capitulation of General Sawyer and a truce with the Legion. General Sawyer's submission did not avert his censure by the Legion convention at New Orleans, though Mr. Sprague did what he could to prevent it.

CHAPTER XXII

"WHO GOT THE MONEY?"

In April of 1922 two American Legion members in the House of Representatives, Roy O. Woodruff of Michigan, and Royal C. Johnson of South Dakota, created a national sensation by speaking in Congress for three hours on the subject of war-time profiteering. They gave that time-worn topic new life by an astounding revelation of the corruption, conspiracy, waste and mismanagement which marked the war and post-war financial transactions of the United States. They spoke by the book. In case after case they presented official records as evidence of the basis of their accusations which involve a loss to the Government of hundreds and millions and possibly billions of dollars which taxpayers are being pressed to replace.

They charged the almost complete breakdown of the Government's efforts at the detection, apprehension and prosecution of the guilty. Mr. Woodruff brought his remarks to conclusion by informing the House that unless affairs took a different turn he would move the impeachment of the Attorney-General.

The situation was brought to the attention of Commander MacNider with the suggestion that the profiteer issue, properly handled, could be turned into excellent propaganda in favor of the adjusted compensation bill, which at that moment was the object of the Commander's chief efforts.

"I cannot consider it on that basis," replied Mr. MacNider. "The Legion will make no compromises, no deals, and will invoke no outside issues in its fight for compensation. Compensation is a debt that is due, a debt the Government can afford to pay, and a debt whose payment will strengthen the economic fiber of the country. It will stand on its own feet. If there is anything in this profiteer question which presents an opportunity for the Legion to serve

the public interest, the Legion will undertake that service, but it will undertake it as a matter distinct and apart from adjusted compensation."

This was done. Mr. MacNider looked into the subject of profiteering, accepted it as a Legion issue and indicated to the *Weekly* its next big job. When I went to Washington to begin the investigations, we were confronted by this peculiar situation:

Were the Woodruff-Johnson charges true? They were; true, but incomplete. They had revealed not more than half a dozen letters of the profiteer's alphabet.

Would any good to the public come of it, or of any subsequent disclosures the Legion might make?

There were two answers to this question. One was that no good would come of it; that nothing would come of it, in fact. The Congressional outburst would be a nine days' wonder and the public would turn its attention to big league pennant races or something else equally as important and absorbing. Why? For these good reasons: "The Army cannot afford a scandal." "It would unsettle business." "Politics will prevent." And one able man in perfect sincerity said to me, "The Government itself cannot afford this thing. With the world in chaos, with once mighty nations torn and disintegrated on all sides of us, with such crises as the coal and railroad strikes at hand at home, popular faith must not be shaken."

Others said great good *might* come of it, especially if the American Legion took a hand. Under our republican form of government, what was the only power on earth that could force an exposure of the evils that existed, sending the looters to jail, forcing them to disgorge what they had stolen and making laws calculated to prevent a recurrence of such scandals in the future? Obviously, nothing but the power of public opinion aroused and informed and kept aroused and informed beyond the nine-days-wonder period. What great groups have we in the United States capable of this? Well,

there were the two major political parties. Forget them; they would do nothing they were not obliged to do. There remained the American Legion—unbossed, untrammeled, *unimplicated.* The Legion was the only hope—so it was represented to me.

I was frequently asked what the Legion intended to do. I said it intended to get the facts and publish them without fear or favor. What then? That, I said, only the Legion—which means a million men and women—knows.

But the hope that was reposed in what the Legion would do when confronted by those facts was the key that opened many a door in my researches.

To picture the situation it is necessary to turn back to the spring of 1917, when the United States entered the war. We witness all that is wholesome and fine—and much that is neither—in a nation of one hundred million preparing for battle. Through this vortex of action two principal currents flow—one toward the mobilization of fighting forces, one toward the mobilization of industrial forces to keep the fighters in the fight. Our concern is with the latter.

Exclusive of loans to allies, Uncle Sam's war transactions involved about nineteen billion dollars, which included the outright purchase of about fifteen billion dollars' worth of material during the war, and the sale or expenditure in settlement of unfulfilled contracts after the Armistice of three or four billions' worth.

During the war Uncle Sam was a customer, and the richest, the easiest, the most lenient and desirable customer that has appeared on the horizon of commerce since the art of barter was discovered to man. He strode into the market and in a year and a half spent fifteen billion dollars, paying spot cash. He handed additional billions to his partners, his allies, virtually all of which was spent here in the home markets.

Uncle Sam not only paid spot cash but he set merchants up in business, built factories for them and then guar-

anteed to take their entire output at tremendous profits. It was not always the little fellow who was staked. Some of the richest industrial corporations received enormous advances.

The "business administration" of the war has been highly praised. Much of this praise was merited, but a great deal of it was purely propaganda, which served the useful purpose of elevating morale and stimulating confidence, but which no longer serves any purpose that is useful or essential to good citizenship.

The drafting of soldiers was a reality. "Draft" was a word on every lip. It conjured to the mind a definite and a desirable picture: a picture of a democracy at war, duty requiring alike of the rich and the poor, the high and the low. We read of labor and capital being "drafted." It conjured a definite and a desirable picture which passed as a true portrait.

So became indistinguishable the true and the false, the draft that was a hard reality, the draft that was a deceptive play on a word. From this faulty perspective the Nation was permitted to view the hasty creation and the operation of the tremendous machine which was to solve the industrial issues of the conflict.

The question of supply naturally fell into the hands of those most likely to be able to do the supplying. The leather men controlled the leather buying, the great steel syndicates the steel production, the powder companies the powder orders, the packers the meat demands, and so on. And bear in mind the universal cry of speed, speed, speed, spend, spend, spend, spare no money, no effort, no means, no anything—but deliver the goods.

What happened? The great majority of war contractors served their country faithfully, honestly and well. There was a case of a manufacturer who discovered his contracts were yielding profits which he deemed unjust to the Government. At his request the contracts were re-drawn and

the manufacturer returned to the Government several million dollars to which he was legally entitled but which he said he had not rightfully earned. Many others did not act with such faith, however. They stooped to conquer. They took advantage of the needs of the Government when its very existence was at stake. It was with this class and this class only that the Legion meant to concern itself.

Carelessness crept into the mighty machine which had been so hastily constructed to conduct the industrial administration of the war. Incompetence crept in. Extortion crept in. Graft crept in. Goods were sold at extortionate prices and at exorbitant profits. On hundreds of items the Government enormously over bought. Enough of some things were purchased to keep the war going twenty years. Instances of waste and extravagance have been revealed which are so flagrant as to impel the conclusion that they were deliberate in order to increase purchases and profits for favored contractors. Favoritism was rife. Schemers among profiteering producers dealt openly with confederates in the government service.

Contracts were of the loosest possible variety. Every advantage was with the contractor, every disadvantage with the Government which was at war. It was the practice to draft contracts so that no possible loss could be sustained by the contractor. The charge is made that whole industries held the Government at their mercy, fixed prices to suit themselves, and dictated the terms of contracts whereby they stood no earthly chance of losing a dollar while the Government could—and did—lose millions. It was heads I win, tails you lose, the most perfect example of the game in all history—and for the highest stakes.

The Armistice brought an instantaneous and absolute upset in the situation. Uncle Sam, world's best customer, became Uncle Sam, merchant, with one of the world's largest and most varied assortment of goods on his shelves. No one knows or likely ever will know their true value, but

careful estimators have placed it at six billion dollars. Did high prices and advantageous terms continue to favor the merchant, once the Government took over that rôle? No, indeed. Uncle Sam, who had bought at high prices, for spot cash, and at prodigious profits, had to sell at low prices, on easy terms, and at losses so great that in many instances he would have actually saved money by giving the stuff away and abolishing the overhead.

The war was over, the emergency past. It is therefore difficult to make clear how the plea of extenuating circumstances can be introduced to excuse the conduct of some of those who let the Government's millions slip through their fingers in the sale of surplus war materials. It is difficult to read the evidence and conclude that some of these transactions were other than cold and deliberate swindles through which the Government lost millions and millions of dollars.

The *Weekly* went to some pains to review specific instances in which the Government had lost and contractors had profited by war and post-armistice purchases and sales. Probably one hundred separate cases were cited in more or less detail. It was made clear that if these disclosures were new or surprising to the public it was only because of the sedulous effort that had been exercised to keep them from the public. Nothing was published on hearsay, or which could not be supported by official documents. Nothing was published that was not a familiar story to the Department of Justice, which is charged with the enforcement of the law and the detection and punishment of those who have violated the law in connection with the Government's war transactions.

What had the Department of Justice done? It had done virtually nothing until the Woodruff-Johnson outburst threatened the Attorney-General with impeachment. Why this state of affairs? Why had prosecutions been so tardy, so few, and so inconclusive?

It was because, of the two contending forces in this

matter, the forces concerned with the defense of the suspected and accused had out-generaled and out-maneuvered the forces of attack at every point of the game. Any defense, by its nature, possesses certain powerful, inherent advantages over an attack. A man fighting a defensive battle is fighting to retain something he already holds, and possession means much; it is nine points of the law. In this case those on the defensive were—and are—fighting to retain what they have, and these are the things that men hold most dear—money, good name, social position, professional reputation, political power, liberty, life itself.

These are at stake. Be assured every resource has been exercised, is being exercised and will continue to be exercised to safeguard them. The defense has had throughout the sharpest weapons—money, influence, political power. It has been able to engage the shrewdest lawyers, for whom the government prosecutors have been no match. It has spent money prodigally, while the Government, so prodigal in other matters, has shown a rare disposition toward economy. It has invoked every manner of influence and political pressure, to which the best in public life are apt to be susceptible. Those retained by the defense have frequently been powers in the high councils of political parties which have elevated men concerned with the prosecution to their positions in public life. In some instances the suspected and accused have been political figures themselves or liberal donors to campaign funds.

Such factors go a long way. They are the gears of what the elder Roosevelt called the invisible government. As the defense thus gathered strength and force the attacking side was proportionately weakened.

The injection of partisan politics into the issue aided the defense in two ways. It forestalled action. It tinctured much of such action as has been able to manifest itself with an aspect of insincerity; it muddied the water and obscured the real objective. The first disclosures and the first de-

mands for the prosecution of offenders came during a Democratic administration. The powers in control of the party machinery were aghast. A war scandal under a Democratic administration—with a campaign coming on! This would never do. The word went out to deny everything. There was no scandal. It was a Republican trick. The Democratic politicians—with notable exceptions—obeyed. The party, and all hope of victory at the coming election, demanded it. They would do nothing, say nothing, admit nothing which in any way might reflect on the Democratic administration's conduct of the war and give the Republicans a campaign issue.

The 1920 elections put the Republican party in control of the Government. But where was the crusader-like zeal for the punishment of war grafters which had so fired the Grand Old Party of campaign days? It seemed to have strangely departed—with notable exceptions—from Republican breasts. Why? Well, suppose we look at it this way: If all this rottenness was going on or had gone on, it wasn't merely a case of blaming the Democrats now, for the Democrats were out of office, powerless to prevent or to prosecute. Somebody else's cat was being singed. The Republicans were in office, and are in office. The machinery of the War Department wherein these evils were said to exist was in Republican hands. The machinery of the Department of Justice, charged with prosecutions, was in Republican hands. Yet why no further disclosures? Why so few prosecutions, and these after a sensational internal outbreak within the party?

There are reasons. During the transition of national administrations, the forces enlisted to defend the suspected and accused were not idle. They observed with comfort what was going on and arranged to make the most of it. They altered their alignment to meet the new situation. They did not alter their tactics. There was no need. The old tactics were the best possible. Money continued to be

spent prodigally when need was, while the new administration, emphasizing the campaign watchword of economy, began by pinching pennies. Political influence and political pressure were invoked, lawyers retained who were high in the councils of the party newly in power and who had been influential in elevating friends to public office. Big campaign fund contributors took their places in the scheme of things. Men advanced to official positions whose private interests during the war bore certain relations to those interests now under scrutiny. Matters moved on in ever narrowing circles until at length we reach that exclusive area where politics of the partisan variety disappears, where the imperceptible link of self-preservation and common expediency joins all parties—and there sits the throne of the invisible government.

As the defense thus improved its situation the attack found its powers divided and dispersed. A sort of common understanding, originating no one seems to know where, began to float around and sift through the official strata of Washington to the effect that, after all, wouldn't it be best to let the whole business drop? Wars have always been attended by such scandals—does any good come of airing them? This common understanding began to crystallize into a conviction, uttered in whispers at first, and then in more audible tones.

This was the situation in Washington in March of 1922. The Department of Justice organization dealing with war fraud charges had dwindled to a corporal's guard of nine or ten people. The attacking force, the force which was to expose and prosecute the great array of crimes and conspiracies against the Government, had tapered down to this. Against this corporal's guard was pitted the full force of the invisible government.

A corporal's guard sometimes can do much. This was one of the times. The entire guard did not act, however; only two members of it acted, but they were sufficient to

lend needed sinew to an effort which has altered the whole procedure (if not the policy) of the Department of Justice toward war frauds.

By this time two of the four special agents assigned to the War Frauds Section had become convinced that the Department's essay at the punishment of war frauds represented not only a ridiculously feeble but also an insincere effort. After exhausting what seemed to them to be every resource within the Department they went outside of it. They called on Representatives Woodruff and Johnson and gave them much of the material they used in their April speeches. These special agents were William O. Watts, former major, Q. M. C., and H. L. Scaife, former captain, Air Service.

Scaife resigned before he saw the Congressmen. Watts was discharged by Attorney-General Daugherty immediately thereafter, "for disloyalty" as the note of dismissal said. Watts had previously been discharged from the Army because of his persistence in reporting and uncovering irregular transactions in which officers were involved. The statement is of official record that by his unaided efforts he has saved the Government millions of dollars. For this service he has received rewards which recall the axiom concerning the ingratitude of republics.

Harry M. Daugherty has been in politics long enough to know when discretion is the better part of valor. When Woodruff and Johnson had had their say he replied that they would influence his course not in the least, and intimated that these Congressmen were being used as tools by some of the interests which were trying to evade prosecution. Yet within thirty days the Attorney General was at the Capitol requesting a $500,000 special appropriation for the prosecution of war frauds; notwithstanding he had thrice failed to include such a request in his budgets and not forty days previously had definitely declined to ask for such a

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sum. It was a victory for Woodruff and Johnson, almost on their own terms.

The Attorney-General obtained his half million and has exhibited some heartening signs of activity. What this activity will lead to none can say. It rests with the public. If the public is interested it can clean up the situation and go a long way toward making its recurrence a great inconvenience to those who would attempt it. The American Legion shows promise of not disappointing those who in the beginning placed their faith in it. By direction of the fourth National Convention the *Weekly's* articles which were published under the title of "Who Got the Money?" are to be reprinted in book form. The book will be sold at cost in order to insure wider circulation of the facts it contains. After considering the matter to his own satisfaction, Commander Owsley instructed the *Weekly* to resume its disclosures, which were terminated to permit the New Orleans convention to express an opinion. Posts and State Departments have taken up the banner and it begins to appear as if the hope reposed in the Legion has not been misplaced.

The object of the first disclosures was to hasten prosecutions. Whether the Legion's activity has contributed toward that end this writer will not venture to say. The fact is, however, that prosecutions which some months before seemed to many to be unlikely, have been forthcoming. The Legion drives on in the hope that such activity for justice may not flag, and that a universal draft of labor, capital and materials as well as fighting men may be invoked to distribute more adequately the burdens to be borne should war come again. It is obscure to the Legion why the soldier who lies on his belly and fires a rifle at the enemy should receive a dollar a day for his services while the workman who fabricated the rifle should receive twelve dollars a day and the owner of the factory in which the rifle was made should receive twelve hundred dollars a day.

CHAPTER XXIII

MACNIDER'S COMPENSATION FIGHT: AN OBSERVATION OF PRESIDENT HARDING

THE story of Hanford MacNider's fight for adjusted compensation is the story of the attitude of one man toward that item of legislation. The one man is no inconsiderable personage, to be sure. He is the President of the United States.

That, in its shirt-sleeves, is the story.

MacNider believed from the start that the outcome of his fight, when all was said and done, would be just what the President should wish it to be. The Commander had three reasons for this opinion. Veterans favored the measure—witness three National Conventions of the Legion. The public favored it—seventeen States had so voted, and in no instance where the matter had been left to the arbitrament of the ballot had the Legion's contention been unsustained. Congress favored it, the House having passed the measure twice. Passage by the Senate had been forestalled only by the personal intervention of the President.

Mr. MacNider knew in the beginning, therefore, that the bill would go through Congress—not without opposition, of course. Every inch of the way would be contested, as it had been before; but MacNider had confidence in the Legion's ability to repel this opposition and bring the measure to the President's desk. The real question was, Will the President permit it to become a law?

This state of affairs renders pertinent a review of Mr. Harding's past attitude toward this legislation. His first opinion of record appears in an address delivered in Cincinnati three days before his election in 1920. He said:

> I want to say to the service men here that I want an America that will never forget its gratitude for the service they rendered the country.

A moment later, replying to a question from the audience, he said:

> A Republican House passed the bonus bill, and it is now up to the Senate. I, myself, think it ought to pass, but the patriotic men of the American Legion wouldn't have cared to have us pass a bonus bill last summer at a time when our war bonds were 15 to 20 below par.

When Mr. Harding made these statements, the adjusted compensation bill had been passed by the House of Representatives by a vote of 289 to 92, and lay in the Finance Committee of the Senate, where it died with the session.

Nine months later it had passed the House again, this time by an increased majority. The Senate Finance Committee had reported the bill out and was bound to act. Secretary Mellon's opposition had been unavailing, and it was evident that none but the President could forefend the certain passage of the measure. There was no direct evidence that the President had altered his position since the Cincinnati speech. The Mellon letter, of course, was significant, as were certain references to a "bonus" which the President had made in his frequent conversations with Mr. Galbraith. Mr. Galbraith had always turned the matter aside, saying he would not discuss adjusted compensation with the President until the disabled had been cared for.

At this juncture, early in July of 1921, Mr. Emery paid his first call at the White House after his election as National Commander. He was accompanied by Mr. D'Olier, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taylor, Thomas W. Miller, M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, and others. The amenities were those of a formal call. The Ambassador gave the President a miniature of the Flirey monument, the dedication of which the Legion pilgrims were going abroad to attend. The President gave Commander Emery a gracious message to convey to the French people. The party stepped into the garden and posed for a photograph, and the visitors had begun to bow themselves out when the President in an

aside to Mr. Emery asked the Legion's representatives to return in an hour.

The next meeting was in the Cabinet room. It was most informal, revealing the President as his natural, agreeable and very human self. The President and the Legionnaires smoked, sat about on the arms of chairs or the edge of the great Cabinet table across which so much history has been made, and as in the conversations of the Walrus and the Carpenter, spoke "of many things." The disabled occupied most of the hour, but the "bonus"—to employ the President's term for it—came in for more than a word. The President was certain the bill would pass, but he feared the cost. He believed the Legion vastly underestimated the cost. The veterans would receive their "gratuity," but could they not wait until the financial situation eased off; until some arrangement might be made concerning foreign indebtedness to this country, and until the Treasury should no longer be obliged to pay the unprecedented rate of five and three-quarters per cent. on short-time loans?

What happened in a few days suggests that the President was serving notice to the Legion of his intention to block the bill in the Senate.

On July 12th he went to the Senate chamber and asked that the bill be sent back to the Finance Committee, saying:

> If this measure could be made effective at the present time without disaster to the Nation's finances and without hindrance to imperative readjustment of our taxes it would present an entirely different question than that which is before you. In a personal as well as public manner, which ought to be a plight of good faith, I have commended the policy of generous treatment of the Nation's defenders, not as a part of any contract, not as the payment of a debt which is owing, but as a mark of the Nation's gratitude. Every obligation is to the disabled and dependent. In such reference as had been made to a general compensation there has been a reservation as to the earliest consistent time for such action if it is taken. . . .
>
> At the very moment we are obliged to pay 5¾ per cent. interest for Government short-time loans to care for our floating indebtedness. . . .
>
> Even were there not the threatened paralysis of our Treasury, with its fatal reflexes on all our activities which concern our prosperity, would

it not be better to await the settlement of our foreign loans? At such a time it would be a bestowal on the part of our Government when it is able to bestow. . . .

It will be noted that in this message the President reaffirmed his belief in adjusted compensation, though with less vigor than before. He introduced the qualifying clause "not as a debt that is owing but as a mark of the Nation's gratitude," which was the most striking indication that had yet been given of the fundamental difference between his and the Legion's points of view.

The bill was recommitted to the Senate Finance Committee, where it remained until Congress adjourned. Upon the reconvening of Congress in December of 1921, Commander MacNider decided to press for early action on a similar bill which Representative Fordney had introduced in the House. On January 31st, 1922, Mr. MacNider, Daniel F. Steck, chairman of the Legislative Committee and Vice-Chairman Taylor appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee in behalf of the Fordney bill. The whole argument the Legion presented was predicated on the assumption that the adjusted compensation bill represented just what the President said it did not represent, namely, payment of a debt owing the men who had served in the armed forces. Mr. MacNider put this very forcefully:

> The Secretary of the Treasury in a recent letter to your chairman has commented upon this bill. Instead of opposing this bill by pointing out the difficulties of financing it, we feel that Mr. Mellon would do better to find and suggest proper methods for raising the money. Payments of debts are always irksome, but that does not relieve the obligation of the debtor and the debtor in this case, the nation that Mr. Mellon is supposed to be serving, wants this debt paid. It is not so much his duty to relate the difficulties of his position as it is to seek means to meet them. The people want results and not objections. In addition to this, Mr. Mellon has taken no cognizance of the fact that the benefits of this bill will strengthen the economic condition of the country, because it will allow beneficiaries to build homes, buy farms and farm machinery, train themselves for useful vocations, and in accepting paid-up insurance, make them better and more contented citizens.
>
> Now, we say that this is not a bonus. Of course we object to that

term. It is the payment of a just obligation. The question is simply this: Would you take one of two men equally paid in your employ and send one out on a particularly dangerous mission, which he gladly undertakes out of his loyalty to you, risking his life, leaving his family, ready to encounter or surmount any difficulties, ready to serve you, and meantime multiply many times the wages of the man retained at home in safety, and on the first man's return, not give him at least an even deal with the other? That is the question which seems to us confronts us. That is what the opponents of adjusted compensation are asking you not to do; that is, not to give that man a square deal. That is the way we cover that point and the way we feel that the people feel about it.

We feel that the country is behind us, and what opposition there is we can not help but believe comes from ignorance of the cause and effect of the measure. Former opponents have become proponents when properly informed. I give you as an example the directorate of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, its members being practically unanimous in their indorsement of the bill as it stands. You, gentlemen, will admit that these directors know perhaps better than anyone else the economic and financial conditions of that part of the United States most affected by this period of depression. When we say that opposition comes mainly from ignorance, we give as an example the United States Chamber of Commerce, which, although we do not believe it reflects the sentiments of its constituents, has nevertheless organized an attack upon the legislation. The president of that body and his colleagues admitted to us during a conference that they did not know what the bill provided and, further, that they were not interested in its provisions.

The Fordney bill provided five options from which the veteran might choose his form of compensation. These were life insurance, home aid, land settlement, vocational training and cash. The cash option was restricted. While hearings were on in the House committee the opponents of the bill opened their campaign. There was a letter from Secretary Mellon and the statement of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States that the bill would impose a debt that would ruin business and spell disaster to the national finances.

The Chamber's most important piece of strategy was seriously upset, however. It had planned a referendum of all affiliated local Chambers of Commerce in the country. This was contrived in such a way as, it was thought, to insure a vote exceptionally adverse to the Legion's contentions.

A form of ballot was devised and sent out by mail. Members of local chambers were requested to vote on four of the options of the Fordney bill—the insurance option was omitted. Accompanying the sample ballots were a series of arguments for and against each option. The negative arguments were skillfully prepared. The affirmative arguments were weak.

The Chamber's literature would have misled any person unfamiliar with the actual provisions of the Fordney bill. Commander MacNider, however, obtained one of the ballots before they had been mailed broadcast—perhaps the copy was sent to him by the national Chamber, I am not certain. MacNider immediately called the attention of the officers of the Chamber to its character and directed every Legion post to send a committee before its local Chamber of Commerce to present the Legion's side of the adjusted compensation case. This was done more or less thoroughly and the final vote was 4,116 for and 2,657 against the various options. The only option not to receive a majority was that of cash, on which the vote was 467½ for and 1,231½ against. This did not prevent the national Chamber from claiming the vote proved that the sound-thinking business men of the country were against the harmful "bonus" bill, but it did prevent those words from carrying the conviction they might have carried.

The question of methods of raising revenue to finance the bill came up. It was not a new issue, though it was rather an extraneous one. It is not necessary or customary for revenue-raising features to accompany a piece of legislation which calls for an outlay from the Treasury. But in an effort to hamper the compensation bills, the question has always been raised in connection with this legislation. On March 17th the President wrote Chairman Fordney that he considered a sales-tax the best way of providing for the payments necessary under his bill. The President

stated that he was "aware of the strong sentiment in Congress in favor of this adjusted compensation," adding:

> I have spoken approvingly myself, always with the reservation that the bestowal shall be made when it may be done without such injury to the country as will nullify the benefits to the ex-service men themselves which this expression of gratitude is designed to bestow. . . . We have no serious problem in beginning the allotments of public lands and the immediate issue of paid-up insurance.
>
> The real difficulty lies in the payment of the cash bonus.

The President let it become known that if the bill passed in the form in which it then stood and without a sales-tax provision he would veto it. Mr. MacNider and Mr. Taylor called at the White House. The President dilated on the cash feature of the bill. He believed it harmful. He spoke of means of money-raising and advocated a sales-tax. He inferred that if the Legion would approve of the inclusion of a sales-tax for revenue raising purposes all Executive opposition to the bill would be withdrawn. From the beginning the Legion has declined to participate in revenue-raising controversies and the President was informed it could not abandon that position.

An effort was made, however, to meet the President's wishes with reference to the cash option. Chairman Fordney restricted this provision to men entitled to receive fifty dollars or less. As a substitute for the general cash option the insurance certificate was given a loan value at banks. This reduced the cost of the bill to $242,700,000 for the first three years. This would allow the refunding operations of the Treasury to be completed before the heavy payments fell due. Incidentally $242,700,000 is less than the bonus the Government paid to Federal civilian employees. It is one-third of the amount of the Federal bonus to railroads and one-tenth of the sum paid to war contractors after the Armistice for goods not delivered. When the legislation calling for these payments was passed no request came from the White House for a special tax to raise the money.

Word came from the White House that the President viewed with favor the changes in the bill. Chairman Fordney visited the President and left with the impression that he would sign the bill, which on March 23d passed the House by a vote of 333 to 70. It went to the Senate Finance Committee.

Legion leaders shared Mr. Fordney's optimism concerning the President's attitude. Then came a flurry while the bill was in the Senate Committee. The report reached Commander MacNider from a well-informed source that New York, Chicago and Boston financial circles were bringing strong pressure on the President to appear before the Senate and, casting aside all restrictions, flatly oppose the passage of a compensation measure then or at any other time. Ohio had recently voted adjusted compensation for its veterans by a majority of three to one. Mr. MacNider asked Gilbert Bettman, John R. McQuigg and Milton Campbell to visit the President.

On May 25th they were cordially received as became friends and neighbors of the President. Mr. Harding talked to them for a long time. His sharp disagreement with the views of the Legion was very apparent. Not only did he regard any settlement the Government might make with its veterans as purely a bonus in the correct sense of the word—a gift, a gratuity which they had not earned—but he believed pensions inevitable in any event. He could not agree that the payment of adjusted compensation then would forestall pensions. He recalled that he was an older man than his visitors and predicted that they would see the day when the veterans of the late war would draw pensions which would render insignificant by comparison the pensions of the Civil War.

The conference was deemed a success, however, because it brought an end to the report that the President had been influenced by the wishes of those who sought from him a bald repudiation of the adjusted compensation principle.

Furthermore, neither Bettman, McQuigg nor Campbell received the impression that the President would veto the bill if the Senate passed it. They were not alone in this opinion. Representative Fordney was convinced the President would sign it. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, Senator Watson of Indiana, and others classed as administration leaders and close to the White House, professed to believe he would sign it.

On August 23d it passed the Senate, 43 to 26. On September 16th it was transmitted to the President. Commander MacNider and Thomas W. Miller had recently had a long conference at the White House. Both had made the strongest possible representations to the President, who preserved a diplomatic silence concerning his intentions. This reticence was a trifle disconcerting, but hope remained strong. On September 18th Commander MacNider and Mrs. Lowell F. Hobart, President of the Auxiliary, called on the President with a large delegation representing every organization of veterans from the Civil War down. The President was hard pressed but he parried questions gracefully. He said he could not disclose his plans. He would like to, but it was impossible. He was very sorry. Almost without exception those who left that conference left it with the feeling that Mr. Harding would sign the bill.

They were wrong. He vetoed it the next day. I quote two excerpts from his veto message:

> With the avowed purpose of the bill to give expression of a Nation's gratitude to those who served in its defense in the World War I am in accord.

And again:

> A peace bestowal on the ex-service men . . . is a perversion of public funds, a reversal of the policy which exalted patriotic service in the past, and suggests that future defense is to be inspired by compensation rather than conscientiousness of duty to flag and country.

I find these two statements difficult to reconcile. It is no easier to harmonize the latter of them with the Presi-

dent's campaign utterance of 1920. The President says adjusted compensation is a gratuity, but that he favors it. Then he calls it a "perversion of public funds" and a "reversal" of the policy toward veterans of other wars. As to being a perversion of the public funds, that is a matter of opinion. The question of policy, however, is not. It is an issue of fact, and the President has been misinformed. After every war in which the United States was engaged from 1776 to 1898, adjustments of compensation have been paid to veterans. In nearly every instance the payments, either in land, money or both have been greater, and often many times greater, than that which the World War veteran seeks.

On September 20th the House overrode the President's veto by a vote of 258 to 54. In the Senate four votes were lacking to establish the two-thirds majority necessary to make the bill a law against the President's will. The Senate vote was 44 to 28.

One may be as lonesome among a multitude of people as on a desert island. We have the word of Mr. Harding that he is the most lonely man on earth, and Mr. Harding does not live on a desert island. He is not shunned. He sees and meets as many people as any man in the United States, and those he sees constitute only a small part of the multitude who try to see him. But visitors usually are not frank with the President. They are not unselfish. They are not even themselves in his presence. They wish to *use* him. In a thousand ways and for a thousand purposes they seek to *use* the President and the President is conscious of it. He feels his isolation poignantly, and likes to slip over to the National Press Club and sit in a game of hearts as Warren Harding of the *Marion Star*, a member of the newspaper profession. The state of isolation which circumscribes the President, I believe, has done more than any other thing to obscure from him the factors which are vital not only to a true understanding of adjusted compensation but of the Legion itself.

The President has misunderstood the Legion, as many

of his conservative type have misunderstood it. The compensation issue has served to cast that misunderstanding in bold relief. He views the matter as a question of a gratuity. To his mind no economic loss was incurred. There was no broken contract, no injustice done. Compensation is merely a bounty and he feels, as he has said frequently, that in the bills the Legion has sponsored the provisions have not been bounteous enough. His vision is focused on the pension rolls which he believes inevitable. He smiles tolerantly when the Legion disclaims its interest in pensions, except in their prevention. The President regards himself as an intensely practical man. In his heart he is unable to reconcile certain of the Legion's altruistic professions with what experience has taught him is likely, in practice, to be the outcome of things.

This is not to say that Mr. Harding undervalues the Legion as an influence in public affairs. He has said the dawn of its day of power is close at hand. Once he said he realized that he would be the last "civilian President" for many years to come. When the President speaks thus he speaks as one whose mind is on the past; on a long line of soldier-Presidents. In particular he thinks of the Civil War in which his father fought. From Grant to McKinley, save for the Cleveland terms, veterans occupied the White House. Unconsciously he compares the American Legion with the Grand Army of the Republic, and this comparison (when adjusted compensation is the issue) naturally suggests the subject of pensions. Pensions and politics: will the Legion's fine ideals taper down to these? There are those who believe they will. The inherent structural difference between the Legion and the veterans organizations which grew out of other wars, and notably the Civil War, escapes them.

The President does not undervalue the Legion's power, but I believe he holds views that differ from those of most Legionnaires as to the avenues that power is taking. When the President speaks of the G. A. R. he speaks of an organiza-

tion with which he is familiar. His early political training was with a party which grew dominant under the ægis of the Grand Army. With the Legion and World War veterans he is less familiar. When compensation is the case in point he sometimes invokes the example of his chauffeur who, he says, came back from the war better off economically and every way than he was when he went. Reasoning from such restricted premises is likely to imperil accurate judgment. The fortunate chauffeur is apt to appear as typical and not as an exception which proves a general rule.

Mr. Harding abhors strife and discord. He loves peace. He is a believer in counsel. For the most part, his closest advisers are the members of his Cabinet. Time and time again the compensation question, the disabled and other veteran matters have been threshed over at Cabinet meetings. With possibly three exceptions the members of the Harding Cabinet are very rich men. With possibly one exception they are without a genuine appreciation of ex-soldier problems.* The exception I make is in favor of Mr. Hoover. True, Mr. Denby is a veteran and a member of the Legion, but he has been too busy running the Navy Department—and running it well—to inform himself of or to absorb the spirit of the wants, needs, hopes and aspirations of the ex-service men. His time has been occupied with service men, with the Navy.

Of the President's official family the only really qualified spokesmen of World War ex-service men have been under-officials. There is Edward C. Clifford, an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Clifford works for Mr. Mellon. It is not an enviable situation. He has been squelched. In the disabled fight he was induced to lend support to the

*This statement is made without especial reference to adjusted compensation. Mr. Hoover has expressed himself as favorable to the principle, though not to the form of the compensation bills, which he has given no support. The Cabinet's most active opponent of the Legion bills has been Mr. Mellon, who once admitted that he favored the four-fold measure. The admission was not offered voluntarily. It was made in the course of a spirited cross-examination to which the Secretary submitted himself. Adjusted compensation legislation actually before Congress has received no support from the Cabinet, but a great deal of intense opposition from that source.

absurd "over-hospitalization" contentions of General Sawyer. There is Roosevelt, assistant secretary under Denby. He has dropped out of active Legion affairs, for reasons which do him honor. He dropped out before compensation became an issue, on which his support has been passive at best. For the disabled he has done great service. There is J. Mayhew Wainwright, Assistant Secretary of War, a Legion member, but too busy with the duties of his office to take more than a nominal interest in the organization. Mr. Wainwright retires before March 4th, 1923, to take a seat in Congress, representing New York—an office that will bring him in more intimate contact with questions affecting veterans of the war. There is Thomas W. Miller, custodian of alien property. He has kept abreast of Legion events and ex-service sentiment. He has fought straight through for the Legion program. He has seen the President right along and pounded his fist on the presidential desk in advocacy of compensation legislation.

Miller is one man. Those who have thumped the presidential mahogany in emphasis of divergent views have been many. This circumstance has not escaped the President. The Legion has been unable to surmount the barriers of isolation which are many times as high and as strong as the imposing iron fence which encompasses the precincts of the White House.

Legion leaders are not the only ones who have failed to "call the turn" on President Harding's decisions. Mr. Harding has stumped the wise ones in Washington who have achieved note for the accuracy of their White House predictions over a period of several administrations. They have learned by uncomfortable experience that Harding is hard to "guess." The reason may be found in the President's affable and agreeable nature. Mr. Harding himself has said that the monosyllable, No, is the hardest word in the vocabulary for him to pronounce. He uses it as sparingly as he can—which is not to say that he says Yes when he does not mean

it. He merely avoids No, and is charming and agreeable. The interviewer is apt to be so complimented by the presidential attentions as to mistake the President's agreeability for his agreement.

Hiram Johnson progressives and Elbert H. Gary hard-shell conservatives—people as far apart as that—have called on the President and come down the White House steps beaming with the satisfaction that they had found Mr. Harding in perfect concord with their views. Had not Mr. Harding received them cordially? Had he not expressed the most friendly interest in their visit? Had he not listened patiently and attentively to every word they had to say? And even more, had he not seemed to grasp their point of view? Had he not asked questions—not hostile, but friendly questions; questions calculated to bring out the favorable points of the subject at issue? Yes, the President had done all of that—and yet a week or a month later there is a rude awakening when the President by overt act signifies he was unconvinced from the first. The trouble is, his callers mistook agreeability for agreement.

Now as a matter of fact persons who saw the President day after day right through the adjusted compensation fight, and who themselves had no interest one way or another in that fight, but who observed the situation without prejudice and formed judgments based on their observations and what they knew of the President's manner; such persons assure me Mr. Harding was opposed to the adjusted compensation bill all along and fully intended to veto it from the moment the sales-tax feature was rejected. The President is understood to have confirmed in his mind this decision early in March when he made a short trip to Florida. There, in the company of Attorney-General Daugherty and Secretary of War Weeks he made a close study of the Fordney bill and, to use the expression of one in a position

to know something of what took place, he "literally picked the bill to pieces."*

In the elections of November 7th, 1922, the Administration received a severe reverse. The press named the compensation veto as one of the contributing causes. Six additional States voted on the compensation question. All voted in favor of it. The complexion of both Houses of Congress was changed materially. Not only will the new Congress be willing to pass an adjusted compensation bill but it will be willing to pass it over the President's veto. This is as well known to the President as it is to anyone, but whether it will change the President's attitude is something no one but the President knows. I have been told by several permanent and casual residents of Washington exactly what the President intends to do. The information was not confidential but I must decline to divulge it. I believe we may find in this chapter indications that the President is not without ability to keep his own counsel and that presidential mind-reading is an occupation beset by uncertainties. Therefore, I shall confine myself to the assertion that I believe one of the few certainties of life to be that the adjusted compensation bill will become a law—either with or without President Harding's signature or despite his second veto.

MacNider put all he had and all the Legion had into the adjusted compensation fight. The only thing he failed to do, which if it had not been omitted would have assured success, was to change the mind of the President

Hanford MacNider looked very young, very tired and greatly disappointed as he sat in his room in the New Willard hotel in Washington on the evening of September 19th.

*It is not without interest in this connection to note that the chief argument the Attorney-General advanced against adjusted compensation was that the Government still would have to pay about $300,000,000 in settlement of war contractors' claims. The Attorney-General did not exaggerate when he inferred the Treasury had been denuded to pay exorbitant profits to war contractors, to pay them millions after the Armistice for contracts unperformed and to pay additional millions of fraudulent and unlawful claims. It should be borne in mind that this statement by Mr. Daugherty preceded his activity looking toward the prosecution of contractors which is described in the preceding chapter.

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HANFORD MacNIDER

It was the same man this writer first saw in the A. E. F.'s early days, a serious little second lieutenant leading a platoon through the mud at Humes, France. The same look clouded his countenance. MacNider's platoon was employed in working out the combat formations later incorporated in a pamphlet with red covers which contained the official battle dispositions for American infantry. Working out those formations was no sinecure and it would have been worse except for a division of the labor. All Second-Lieutenant MacNider and his platoon had to do was to crawl about in the mud eight or nine hours a day. Some colonels and majors did the heavy looking on.

On this particular day the mud must have been too thick for comfort—or too thin, maybe. Something was unsatisfactory, for as MacNider marched his platoon back to Turenne Barracks at Langres he looked very young, very tired and greatly disappointed; but not crestfallen. So he looked on the evening of the day which brought an end to the adjusted compensation campaign of 1922—young, tired and disappointed, but not crestfallen. It was an uncommon American soldier who yielded to despondency and MacNider was a common soldier, a very common soldier. No man I know is more typical of the spirit of the doughboy—of the royal buck private who won this war—or who is a more faithful exponent or interpreter of that spirit than Mr. MacNider.

He went out with the Ninth Infantry of the Second Division, an obscure second lieutenant with a mind full of battle formations. He went through the war with that noteworthy division and was in every action in which it was engaged. As consequences of those actions he was wounded and nine times cited for valor. His decorations are the Distinguished Service Cross, Legion d'Honneur, Croix de Guerre and others. They promoted him to be a first lieutenant, a captain, a major and a lieutenant-colonel. He commanded the regiment in battle.

The resilient spirit which was the distinguishing mark of our soldiery is the spirit MacNider carried into the Legion, the spirit he interpreted to the country. MacNider did this naïvely and well because he knew the soldier. If you doubt it, I hope you will read again two stories the *American Legion Weekly* printed in December of 1922. They are called "The Memoirs of a Conscientious Shavetail." They were published anonymously as requested by their author, who is Mr. MacNider.* Nothing I have read reveals with such intimacy, such simplicity or such sincerity the heart of the Yank who carried a pack and a rifle.

Everything MacNider did as National Commander he did from the point of view of the former enlisted man. He did it unconsciously. To him the ex-private, the man of the rifle and the pack, is the Legion. MacNider knows the rank-and-file of Legionnaires as he knew the rank-and-file of soldiers. He could say of both:

> I have eaten your bread and salt,
> I have drunk your water and wine;
> The deaths ye died I have watched beside,
> And the lives that ye led were mine.

This gave MacNider an immense popularity within the Legion. It gave him an immense love for and pride in the organization he headed. This pride won for the Legion new worth and new prestige in the eyes of the country as, for instance, when it prompted MacNider to decline without an instant's hesitation to permit his name to be considered in the selection of a successor to former United States Senator Kenyon of Iowa, who resigned to accept a federal judgeship.

By that decision MacNider refused, in effect, a seat in the Senate. Those who are wise in the ways of the currents of Iowa politics say the toga could have been his for less

*Since the foregoing was written I note that the *Weekly* has observed at least the letter of Mr. MacNider's injunction. His name nowhere appears, but at the end of the second article there is a small photograph of the former Commander with the explanation that it is an excellent likeness of the author.

than the asking—that his nod would have brought it. Yet MacNider thought so little of this denial that the full particulars might never have been known publicly had it not been for the inquisitive faculties of a member of the Washington staff of the *New York Times* whose interest was spurred by the fact that he also is an ex-second lieutenant, Ninth Infantry.

It might plausibly be argued that Mr. MacNider pursued the course he did because he felt that it is not contemplated by the electing conventions that a National Commander of the Legion shall quit short of the expiration of his term without sufficient reason, and that the proffer of a senatorship does not present a reason of this character. That conception of it would be putting a high valuation on the Legion's Commandership. By what other means are true valuations established?

I doubt, however, if Mr. MacNider looked at the matter in that way at all. The viewpoint is too impersonal. I have never discussed the senatorship incident with Mr. MacNider, but those who have done so tell me he declined because he believed to have done otherwise would have constituted a "desertion" of the Legion. By Legion he meant veterans—individuals—men—like those of the Ninth Infantry. MacNider does not think in abstract concepts. He thinks—and very quickly and vividly—in terms of how this or that will affect the individual. Adjusted compensation, the disabled, the employment drive—everything he did he regarded in that light. Take his argument for adjusted compensation before a congressional committee which is quoted earlier in this chapter:

"Would you take one of two men equally paid in your employ and send one out on a particularly dangerous mission . . . and meantime multiply many times the wages of the man retained home in safety; and on the first man's return, not give him at least an even deal with the other?"

It is an issue reduced to its simplest terms—the effect on the individual.

Mr. MacNider is a graduate of Harvard, and the president of a trust company in Mason City, Iowa, where he was born in 1889.

CHAPTER XXIV

IN THE WAKE OF EXPERIENCE: THE NEW ORLEANS CONVENTION

Paris beheld the conception, St. Louis the birth, and Minneapolis the occasion on which the American Legion attained man's estate. Cleveland saw the Legion undergoing a real or fancied test of steadfastness to some of its true aims, and Kansas City saw those aims triumphant in one of the outstanding spectacles of the generation.

The fourth National Convention at New Orleans on October 16th to 20th, 1922, celebrated the graduation of many of those aims into the category of accomplished facts, the reaffirmation of others which had not so graduated, and the dedication of the organization to new aspirations revealed by the lamp of three and one-half years' experience.

Interest centered about the disabled program, an aim realized but needful of close surveillance; adjusted compensation, an aim not realized but reaffirmed; a project to eliminate profiteering by the universal draft of labor, capital and materials in event of another war, and the first practical steps toward world peace taken through the FIDAC—such were the principal new aims declared and subscribed to.

The disabled issue was brought before the convention in the reports of two committees—the convention Rehabilitation Committee and the standing National Rehabilitation Committee headed by A. A. Sprague. The convention body was headed by Rice W. Means of Colorado, who also was a member of the Sprague standing committee. This made for harmony; but in one important particular this harmony proved contrary to the mind of the convention, which had its way.

Mr. Means's committee reported a gradual improvement in its operation of the Veterans Bureau, which the convention cheered and accepted to be a fact. The com-

mittee declared the Legion should continue its policy of co-operation with the Bureau and the convention indicated its approval. It endorsed and commended the work of Mr. Sprague's organization and the convention enthusiastically applauded. On more than one occasion the delegates had betrayed their warm regard for the Chicagoan. Mr. Means passed on to specific recommendations: "An unabated and insistent demand" for more hospitals for mental patients; "A never-sleeping watchfulness, for in Washington there are many things that need watching"; endorsement of the Sprague committee's appeal to industry to employ vocationally rehabilitated veterans; and so forth—to all of which the convention gave enthusiastic assent.

I digress to remind that on the eve of the convention it was announced from Washington that Brigadier-General Charles E. Sawyer had receded from his position and would co-operate with the Legion. Mr. Sprague on arriving at New Orleans had confirmed this report. He had seen the President as well as General Sawyer and a truce had been arranged on terms satisfactory to Mr. Sprague.

Continuing the recommendations of his committee Mr. Means read:

> *Resolved*, that the American Legion accept for the time being the pledge of co-operation given by Brigadier-General Sawyer in the hope that it will be carried out by him in spirit as well as in letter.

A roar of disapproval swept the convention hall. A dozen delegates were on their feet. Chairman Means waited patiently for the vigorous gavel of MacNider to restore quiet. He waited confidently. He had expected a fight. There had been one in the committee, but the resolution had gone through. He believed it would do so again. The Chair recognized Gerald Baron, Department Commander of Minnesota.

Delegate Baron moved to the foot of the platform and read a substitute resolution, which contained these clauses:

> *Whereas*, Brigadier-General Charles E. Sawyer, of the Medical

Officers Reserve Corps, chief co-ordinator of the Federal Hospitalization Board, has hampered the efforts of the Director of the Veterans Bureau to accomplish this result, has shown an utter inability to understand the necessity of immediate action toward hospitalization of these disabled veterans, has repeatedly made public statements which can only be construed to mean that he is more interested in economy than in saving the lives of the men who gave their health to their country, has in his public statements shown his complete ignorance of existing conditions, has caused to be published statistics regarding available hospital beds which were totally at variance with the facts and with the published figures of the Veterans Bureau, and has shown himself by speech and action to be temperamentally unfitted for the position which he holds and for the responsibilities which he exercises, therefore, be it

Resolved, that the American Legion of the United States of America, in convention assembled, demands the removal of Brigadier-General Charles E. Sawyer from the post of chief co-ordinator of the Federal Hospitalization Board.

A demonstration accompanied Mr. Baron's motion to adopt the substitute.

The opposition, however, was ready. Mr. Sprague, the Legion's principal in the first Sawyer controversy, urged against this censure. He said General Sawyer had abandoned his original position and should be given a chance to prove his good faith. "I personally believe General Sawyer is honest," declared Mr. Sprague with great earnestness. "I personally believe he has been horribly misinformed and terribly mistaken."

There were cheers. The convention liked Sprague. But it applauded him and not his sentiments, it turned out. Watson B. Miller, Department Commander of the District of Columbia, took up the cudgels. "The last thing I did before I took the train for New Orleans," he asserted, "was to go to General Sawyer's office and say, 'What did you mean in what you said?' and in substance, he said, 'Miller, honest to God I am with you. I have made mistakes, my letter-writing has been untactful, but I am with you.' "

The convention was not greatly impressed. It was impressed still less by what Gilbert Bettman had to add, and Bettman is a man whose works are known and respected by

the Legion. He declared the substitute resolution would be to no purpose because the President would not remove his personal physician as head of the hospitalization board.

What Stafford King, Minnesota Department Adjutant, had to say sat better with the crowd. "We have one outstanding thing to accomplish," he shouted above the din. "We must have these hospitals. We have a man who has all the responsibility in Washington. He has had two years to do something and he has done nothing. Now he has promised us once more that he will do something and we come in here and are hoodwinked."

Two viva voce votes were taken. MacNider was unable to decide the result. A roll call followed. The decision was unmistakable. By a vote of 601 to 375 the convention declared for the substitute resolution. Four days later the President made good Bettman's prediction. He announced his determination to retain General Sawyer as hospitalization board head. But the Legion had had its say—undeterred by a consequence that was certain—of what it believed to be right.

It is worth while to add that in December following the convention President Harding, with the agreement of General Sawyer, announced the immediate commencement of a building program to provide 12,000 additional hospital beds for disabled veterans.

The adjusted compensation question found the convention of a single mind. The fight should go on. The only difference of opinion was as to the form the convention's declaration should take. This was threshed out in long and spirited sessions of the convention Legislative Committee, headed by John Thomas Taylor, vice-chairman of the standing committee on legislation of the national organization. There was strong sentiment in favor of a declaration that should resent in unequivocal terms the President's act of veto, which had blocked what the delegates believed to be an item of just legislation favored by

a majority of the American people. The opposition to this course was led by Gilbert Bettman, Commander of the Ohio Department, former Chairman of the National Legislative Committee, and who probably has held more personal conferences with the President on the subject of compensation than any other member of the Legion.

The committee's opinion was none too friendly to the Bettman cause when its spokesman appeared before that body. He was given three minutes in which to present his views. He spoke for twenty-five minutes, and when he had finished the committee was not only convinced but it voted to incorporate the substance of Mr. Bettman's address into a document which should comprise the convention's declaration of policy on adjusted compensation. A resolution was then framed which recited that

> . . . after careful consideration by this convention of all arguments advanced in opposition to this measure, including the letters of the Secretary of the Treasury, the address of the President to Congress in 1921 and the message of the President to Congress accompanying his veto . . . we firmly believe in the justness, the fairness and the immediate necessity for adjusted compensation legislation . . . and we do now instruct the newly elected National Commander to continue the fight for this legislation until it has been enacted into law.

The convention adopted the resolution by unanimous vote, as it did the declaration of policy written by Mr. Bettman, which is one of the most significant statements on this subject since the declaration by the Minneapolis convention. It quotes the Minneapolis resolution, and recites the subsequent drafting of the four-fold optional plan by the Legion at the request of Congress, continuing:

> The Congress, by overwhelming majority votes, recognizing the will of the American people, passed an adjusted compensation measure which has now been vetoed by the Nation's Chief Executive.
>
> The American Legion has given consideration to the arguments urged against adjusted compensation. The Legion believes:
>
> (a) The argument that the Nation cannot afford it is unsound. The cost of adjusted compensation would not exceed what one month more of the war would have cost, and the Nation could and would have afforded that. The net debt of the United States is billions below that of

our principal Allies though our economic strength is many fold greater, and our Allies have granted adjusted compensation to their war veterans.

(b) The argument that the adjusted compensation measure should fail because it does not carry taxation provisions is insincere. None of the great war acts calling for expenditure, or indeed any of the Acts of Congress calling for expenditure, ever contained special taxation features to raise revenue for the purposes provided in the act.

(c) The argument that the cost would be five billions is misleading. That figure is arrived at by opponents of adjusted compensation by compounding at four and one-half percent interest for twenty years the real cost, if met now, of one and one-half billion.

(d) "The Nation is spending millions on the disabled," is not an answer, because if there is a debt to the non-disabled it should be paid as all other war debts are being paid, and the payment of one debt does not excuse non-payment of another.

The American Legion believes in adjusted compensation as an approximate adjustment of the economic losses sustained by the service men by reason of their service. Congress drafted the soldier and ordered him to serve at $1 and $1.25 per day. Labor was not drafted. The wages of those not drafted doubled and trebled in the war period. This basic injustice compels the Nation to do what it can toward rectification.

The economic losses thus sustained by the service men are a debt from the Nation to them, and this debt should be paid by all of our people, as all other war debts have been paid. It should not be allowed to remain a burden upon that element of our people least able to bear it, and who bore the military risks of war.

Instead of meeting this just obligation in the manner indicated by the Congress with the approval of the representatives of the service men by the passage of an adjusted compensation measure which would make home owners, home builders and possessors of insurance of thousands of American service men, the Chief Executive proposes a pension. The American Legion stands four-square in favor of adjusted compensation and against a pension.

The Legion hopes and expects this act will be passed without delay, so that the Legion may devote all of its energies to the other constructive measures of its program productive of good to the Nation we served. The Legion desires to stand not in a position of getting something from the Nation but of giving something to the Nation. The Legion must carry on its Americanism program in behalf of better education and aid generally in the development of patriotism and love of country—its program to help inculcate in all our people "a sense of individual responsibility to community, State and Nation," and must now actively help in righting one of the greatest wrongs in the history of the American people—a wrong connected with the prosecution of the war, and, therefore, the duty of the American Legion to help correct—the exposing of the war profiteers. The Legion recognizes this as among its immediate obliga-

tions, because when the American people are aware of the extent of war profiteering a national determination will have developed that in any future war there shall be a draft not only of service men, but of the laboring man and capitalist as well. Had there been such a draft, the fundamental basis of adjusted compensation, now temporarily thwarted by executive action, would never have arisen.

The American Legion proposes to render these services to our people, to develop comradeship, and to aid those of our comrades upon whom the physical burden of the war still rests. The American Legion intends that the American people shall regard it as an organization marching in peace as it did in war under the banner of service to country.

The convention sought to eliminate from the aftermath of possible future wars two issues that now confront the country, namely, those of adjusted compensation and the punishment of profiteers. It recommended the enactment of a law drafting in times of emergency material resources and industrial organizations as well as fighting men, and instituting Government control over prices of commodities for its own use and the use of the public. The convention urged the passage by Congress of this bill:

Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,

(1) That, in the event of a national emergency declared by Congress to exist, which in the judgment of the President demands the immediate increase of the military establishment, the President be, and he hereby is, authorized to draft into the service of the United States such members of the unorganized militia as he may deem necessary; provided that all persons drafted into service between the ages of 21 and 30, or such other limits as the President may fix, shall be drafted without exemption on account of industrial occupation.

(2) That in case of war, or when the President shall judge the same to be imminent, he is authorized and it shall be his duty when, in his opinion, such emergency requires it

(a) To determine and proclaim the material resources, industrial organizations and services over which Government control is necessary to the successful termination of such emergency, and such control shall be exercised by him through agencies then existing or which he may create for such purposes:

(b) To take such steps as may be necessary to stabilize prices of services and of all commodities declared to be essential, whether such services and commodities are required by the Government or by the civilian population.

The convention urged also the appropriations for Army and Navy sufficient to maintain the stands set by the Defence Act of 1920. It declared the Legion would use its influence to see that the Navy is kept up to the letter and spirit of the agreement reached by the powers which took part in the Washington conference on the limitation of armament, and particularly that the 5-5-3 ratio be maintained in personnel, air-craft, submarines, light cruisers and auxiliaries as well as in capital ships. It recommended that the Regular Navy should have a personnel of 105,000, and that under no conditions should it be permitted to drop below 96,000. The convention declared for adequate bases on the Pacific Coast, for the concentration of all combatant first-line vessels in one fleet for better training and more economical administration, for the establishment of an adequate system of reserves and for the augmentation of the merchant marine by the ship subsidy bill.

Other convention recommendations touching matters of national policy were those:

Condemning any effort to grant Congress judicial powers and authority now vested in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Opposing recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia by the United States and condemning propaganda for such recognition.

Condemning as detrimental to the national safety the movement to secure pledges by Americans that they will not give financial aid or bear arms in case this country becomes involved in war.

Urging that financial support be refused organizers of movements to teach "radical internationalism" to the youth of America and that those contemplating joining such organizations be discouraged.

Insisting upon the strict enforcement of all laws for the deportation of aliens found undesirable as citizens or otherwise deserving of deportation.

Urging enactment without delay of laws, and the negotiation of treaties if necessary, for the permanent exclusion of all persons ineligible to citizenship in the United States.

Recommending that Congress immediately suspend all immigration for such a period as will enable the formulation of a definite plan for the protection of the country from the admission of undesirable immigrants.

Demanding the enforcement of the three per cent. limitation immi-

gration law and condemning the violation of this law which has permitted tens of thousands of immigrants in excess of allotted nationality quotas to be admitted to this country.

The election of officers brought forth a contest which had been awaited with keen anticipation. William F. Deegan, former Commander of the New York Department, went to New Orleans an announced candidate. When the convention opened the hats of a half dozen others were in the ring, but preliminary canvasses narrowed the field rapidly, and when the hour for nominations arrived it was conceded that the race lay between Alvin Owsley of Texas, director of the National Americanism Commission, Joseph H. Thompson, former Commander of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Deegan. How many favorite sons would be in the field for a complimentary vote on the first ballot was a question and an important one. It might decide the election.

On the roll call for nominations Alabama yielded to Texas, which meant that the Alabamans had decided not to put up Matt Murphy, who would have started off, at least, with the votes of several Southern delegations. Wayne Davis of Texas placed Alvin Owsley's name before the convention and a demonstration followed. Colorado named a favorite son, National Vice-Commander John A. MacCormack. Connecticut yielded to Massachusetts, and Deegan was nominated amid cheers. Louisiana offered T. Semmes Walmsley, who withdrew in favor of Owsley. Ohio yielded to Pennsylvania, which presented Thompson. Tennessee named National Vice-Commander George L. Berry, who withdrew.

On the voting roll call, Owsley received the solid votes of Alabama, Arizona and Arkansas. California then gave 25 to Deegan. As the roll call proceeded, Deegan received the solid count of Massachusetts with 42 votes, Missouri with 35 and New York with 62, while Thompson scored Iowa's 49, Ohio's 50 and Pennsylvania's 62. Illinois threw its powerful vote of 60 to Owsley, who also registered the

undivided support of the overwhelming number of smaller delegations.

Before the list of States was three-fourths completed it was apparent that Owsley probably would be elected on the first ballot. Virginia's 13 brought his total to 507 or 15 short of a majority. The next State called was Washington. Its 17 votes went to the Texan, whose election was received with a tumultuous ovation. The final vote was Owsley, 574, Deegan, 251, Thompson, 205, MacCormack, 10.

The Texans shouldered Owsley and bore him to the platform. Deegan was there first, however, moving that "the rules be suspended and the secretary instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Alvin Owsley of Texas." Seconds came from Thompson and MacCormack and it was so ordered.

Vice-Commanders elected were Edward J. Barrett, Wisconsin; Robert O. Blood, New Hampshire; E. E. Cocke, Georgia; Watson B. Miller, District of Columbia, and C. P. Plummer, Wyoming. The Reverend William P. O'Connor of Ohio was elected National Chaplain on the third ballot. The other contenders were the Reverend Patrick McDermott, Iowa; the Reverend Raymond Clemons, Minnesota; and the Reverend Tipper Tucker, Louisiana.

So passed off the official business of the fourth convention, but much went on outside of—strictly speaking—business hours. If the Kansas City convention shone as an international spectacle, New Orleans shone with equal splendor as a grand family party done up in correct American style—this notwithstanding that the FIDAC conference was in town at the same time and did not want for honors and attention. The American Legion Auxiliary convention was there, too. Dr. Kate Waller Barrett of Alexandria, Virginia, was elected president, succeeding Mrs. Hobart.

For such triple occasion what better setting could be had than quaint Creole New Orleans? It was as if Canal street were the Atlantic ocean, and once safely across its

two lanes of traffic and five street car tracks the intrepid voyageur discovers himself removed into the enchanted land of memories.

Across broad Canal street, singing and surging, swept the invading Legion hosts to find there no specious counterfeit of old France. It remains to this day an intact and perfect relic of the outpost which royal France set down upon the southern reaches of the Mississippi, a region apart from the American and American-speaking city which has grown up on the other side of Canal since Napoleon ceded Louisiana to the United States.

The narrow cobbled streets—who would have dreamed to find them in America?—echoed with the tramp of marching feet, rang with the shout and song of exuberant voices. The yell of the boys from Powder River announced the presence of Montana. They came this year, as last, in cowboy garb—chaps, boots and something on the hip—six-shooters, to be explicit. And the Iowans, proud of their tall corn, prouder of their MacNider, a whole expeditionary force of six trainloads of them; feathered Oklahomans, red-shirted forty-niners from California, Missourians with their mules, sombreroed delegates from Mexico, Texans with their longhorn steer and old gray mare—and with high hopes for honors that were not to be denied them—forty-and-eighters with an endless repertoire of carnival tricks, a hundred quartets and choruses ballading the virtues of Mademoiselle from Armentières, bands playing everything, notably "Dixie," singing, dancing, laughing, shouting, larking—thus the invasion of the Vieux Carré.

Magnificent was the hospitality that awaited the invaders behind those mysteriously shuttered windows, those quaint French *maisons* with their delightful, secluded, palm-shaded *jardins* in the rear. The liquid *patois* of the natives proved how elusive have become those once-ready snatches of soldier-French we picked up over there. Of course the Creoles all speak English now, but it was so much

better to overlook that as far as limited and half-forgotten A. E. F. vocabularies would allow, and preserve the illusion of France revisited in as perfect a state as possible.

The convention met on the levee. No convention hall in Louisiana would have held the thousand-odd delegates and the throngs of visitors who came to witness the sight of organized veterandom in national congress assembled. A gigantic wharf shed was commandeered and extemporized into a coliseum. This pioneering aspect added zest to the occasion and piquancy to the pictures which marched in tableaux before the throng. There was the tableau of the Blue and the Gray who met and clasped hands under the folds of the old flag, and in the words of the one who wore the Blue:

"As we travel down the western slope of life we say to you, 'Hail! All hail! And farewell!' "

There was labor's great chieftain, the venerable Samuel Gompers, with a fraternal message. "No matter where in the line of human progress, justice and freedom, the American Legion may march and lead," he said, "the American organized workers will gladly follow."

There was the militant Kenesaw Mountain Landis, with terse and tart remarks on politics, profiteers and adjusted compensation foes.

There was Pershing. He arrived at ten on Thursday morning, the convention's fourth day. MacNider was disturbed.

"General," he said, "you will break up this convention. Can't we run a little more business out of the way before I present you?"

The General said he was under the orders of a superior officer. He remained in a dugout off stage.

The moment that came was a moment worth waiting for. MacNider's voice went to the farthest recesses. He said:

"I have today a privilege I know every man in this hall

COLORS PASSING THE CENOTAPH AT NEW ORLEANS, 1922

envies me. I am about to tell the General commanding the Armies of the United States to step up and do his stuff."

Pandemonium ensued. A Nebraska delegate, with state standard in hand, leaped to the platform and handed the General an overseas cap bearing a Nebraska ribbon. Pershing put it on and the uproar redoubled. Nebraska claims Pershing as its adopted son, but Missouri claims him by right of birth. The Missouri standard, followed by the entire Missouri delegation, paraded to the stage and surrounded the Commander-in-Chief. Then came the District of Columbia, where Pershing holds his Legion membership in National Press Club Post. Continental Europe was next, leading a general advance. The Texas banner, held high by Sam Dreben, much-decorated "fighting Jew" of the Lone Star State, infiltrated through. Dreben was Pershing's chauffeur on the Villa expedition. The General recognized him. The two exchanged salutes and warm handshakes.

But Iowa had the luck. A path was made for pretty Margaret McCauley, of Mason City, who carried the tall corn ensign to the forefront, and the Commanding General stooped and saluted her—with a kiss—while the hall yelled anew its approbation of this deed of conspicuous gallantry.

"I came here as for inspection," Pershing began at length. "But the shine on my boots is not what it was. have been cooling my heels for two hours waiting for my chance to present myself."

"Then you know just how we used to feel!" interrupted a stentorian voice.

Pershing laughed. The convention broke into fresh uproar over the recollection of formations kept intact cooling their heels hour on hour until the C.-in-C. should arrive to inspect them. It was an inspired touch. It made Pershing one of *ours* in fact as well as form.

The General's speech was a serious and forceful reminder of the veteran's obligations to his country. "Your countrymen," he said, "look upon you as of a different mold.

Your obligations are more grave and the plane of your citizenship higher and more influential. . . . The threats of revolutionary elements are impossible as long as we have our patriotic ex-service men to rely upon."

The convention, acting for the veterans of America, ratified the world-peace declaration framed by the FIDAC conference which was held in New Orleans coincident with the Legion sessions. It was presented to the convention in its closing hours by Roy Hoffman, one of the American delegates to the FIDAC meeting. By solemn and unanimous vote the Legion pledged itself to the principle of absolute disarmament of land, sea and air forces and the destruction of implements of warfare.

The peace issue practically monopolized the attention of the conference. For six days and nights it was under discussion by delegates representing eight nations—the British Empire, France, Belgium, Italy, Roumania, Serbia, Czecho-Slovakia and the United States. They aimed to speak for thirty million veterans. They actually represented an organized membership in excess of nine million. The American delegates were Dr. H. Nelson Jackson, Vermont, chairman; L. R. Gignilliat, Indiana; Dan S. Hollenga, North Carolina; Roy Hoffman, Oklahoma; R. E. Condon, New York. Charles Bertrand, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, presided. He was re-elected to the FIDAC presidency, an office he has held since the organization of the Federation in 1920. Dr. Jackson was chosen as a vice-president.

The difficulties in the path of a concrete definition of peace principles were considerable. There were the difficulties of language, of opinions on procedure, of habits of thought. The latter was the most serious. Present were two distinct schools of thought—that of the Old World and that of the New. These schools were thrown in sharp contrast on the opening day, when despite the efforts of the British and American delegations, it was voted to exclude the press

from all but certain formal sessions. This was a mistake. The action was rescinded later, but harm had been done. A story that might have gone around the world, set millions thinking, and won millions to the FIDAC cause was lost.

Contrary to certain reports and conjectures, there was nothing sinister in this action with reference to the press. Nothing transpired in the sessions which would not have benefited by publicity. It simply represented the Continental method of procedure as moulded by Continental habits of thought. The mistake will not be made again. In its peace manifesto FIDAC declared for full publicity—a step in the direction in which the world is moving.

The peace declaration was worked out by a committee on which one delegate of each nation served. Gignilliat of America was chairman. Much credit belongs to him. He was tactful, thoughtful, resourceful. Concessions were necessary. France deemed reparations and security from the German menace essential to peace. Great Britain saw paramount the economic recovery of Germany. The Roumanians feared the armies of Soviet Russia which are mobilized on their frontier.

But the conference sought to avoid the controversial pitfalls which have engulfed every international alliance that has been engineered by diplomacy since history began, and have brought failure upon every diplomatic effort at peace.

With all their hearts, those delegates wanted peace. One was blind. One had no legs. One no voice—gas. One no right arm. "Gentlemen, I am not old," said a Serbian who is under thirty, "yet I have been in four wars. My father, who was killed in the last war, had been in seven." They *wanted* peace, they strove earnestly to avoid pitfalls and to concentrate upon workable and practicable principles upon which the means to peace might be predicated. Sincerity pulled them through. These are the principles the

Legion ratified as rendered into "plain American" by Hoffman:

With an earnest desire to promote peace, tranquillity and good will among nations; secure the institutions of organized society; preserve the sacred principles of liberty and democracy and transmit their blessings to posterity; and establish safeguards to prevent the recurrence of war, we, the undersigned, representing the ex-service men of the signatory countries, agree to submit and endeavor to secure the adoption by our societies represented and through them urge upon our respective governments the following declaration of principles:

1. That all international agreements among governments affecting the entire people shall be open and aboveboard, with full publicity.
2. That treaties make the law between the nations, and they must be executed in good faith.
3. To oppose territorial aggrandizement.
4. To vigorously suppress within our own boundaries all persons and propaganda seeking to overthrow by force government existing by will of the people.
5. That the financial policies of the Allied governments must have as their aim the stability of exchange and the resumption of international commerce, and we recommend the suspension of trade relations with countries maintaining armies organized for aggressive purposes.
6. In view of the distorted political reports tending to unbalance the public mind, we recommend that there shall be established by the FIDAC a news-disseminating bureau with representatives in every member country; that this agency shall receive the official sanction of the governments of the respective countries; that it shall collect and issue news designed to offset destructive and inflammatory propaganda, particularly the propaganda put out by the proponents of bolshevism with the intent to change other forms of government.
7. That an international court be established to outlaw war.
8. To proceed as rapidly as conditions permit and when the decrees of such court become operative (except for machinery necessary to maintain them and the minimum police forces) to entirely disarm and disband our land, sea and air forces and destroy the implements of warfare.

The foregoing becomes binding upon the Federation only when approved by all of the constituent veterans associations of the FIDAC. Of these the Legion was the first to act.

The vision of Galbraith has gone thus far.

ALVIN OWSLEY

CHAPTER XXV

"WE GO FORWARD"

WHEN the fourth National Convention selected Alvin Owsley to direct the Legion's affairs it selected a man possessed of qualifications which would seem to be singularly well adapted to the work the responsibilities of the office place upon him. Owsley is a lawyer, and from early youth he has had two principal avocations which have consumed a great share of his energies.

He has been a student of and an enthusiast for the military science, including the human equation of the soldier, in uniform and out—his wants, his needs, his problems.

He has been a public servant. As the youngest member of the Texas legislature, as the district attorney of his home county of Denton and as the Assistant Attorney-General of his State, he has made a record which men admire in Texas.

Mr. Owsley resigned the office of district attorney in April of 1917 to enter the Army. After a period in the first officers training camp at Leon Springs, Texas, he became a major in the Seventh Infantry of the Texas National Guard, and finding his battalion largely non-existent, he organized and trained four infantry companies. The regiment was consolidated with the First Oklahoma, becoming the 142d Infantry of the 36th Division. Owsley took his battalion overseas and led it until promoted to be lieutenant-colonel and division adjutant. He participated in all actions in which his division was engaged.

He had an early perception of the Nation's post-war-problems. He was a delegate to the Paris caucus and helped organize the Legion in Texas. He resigned as Assistant Attorney-General in 1920 to become Assistant Director of the National Americanism Commission of the Legion. When Henry J. Ryan was obliged to retire, due to injuries sustained in the accident in which Commander Galbraith was

killed, Mr. Owsley succeeded to the directorship of the Commission. By combining the qualities of a lawyer who understands procedure, a soldier who understands soldiers and a public servant who understands his countrymen, Owsley made that Commission a national factor in the promotion and dissemination of the ideals of a better citizenship.

The Americanism Commission has done much to make the United States a better country in which to live; to make the State more sympathetic with the affairs of the individual, to make the individual more conscious of his part in shaping the affairs of the State.

The Commission has worked to carry out the immigration policies of the various conventions—to suspend all immigration, if possible, and at least to restrict it to the point where immigration and assimilation can go hand in hand. By assimilation is meant the instruction of the immigrant in the privileges and obligations of American citizenship. The Commission has labored for higher standards to govern the admission of aliens to citizenship and more impressive ceremonies of naturalization.

The Commission has worked and accomplished much toward impressing citizens, whether born here or abroad, with the sanctity of the obligation of the ballot. It has given practical instruction in the use of the ballot, without partisanship. It has obtained the passage of laws in several States depriving aliens who had not taken out their final naturalization papers, of the right to vote.

The Commission has not proceeded on the assumption that native-born Americans have a monopoly on patriotism or that most of our public evils arise from lack of naturalization or the imperfect naturalization of large groups of aliens. Special attention has been devoted to the "Americanization" of the native born, particularly the young. The Commission has worked through the school system to accomplish this. It has obtained the enactment of many State laws requiring English as the medium of instruction in elementary and

high schools; requiring the teaching of American history and civil government in these schools; the instituting of daily patriotic exercises; the flying of the American flag from school buildings.

In conjunction with the National Educational Association, the Commission has inaugurated as an annual event in December of each year an American Education Week, which was first observed in 1921. During the week meetings are held throughout the country at which parents, teachers and pupils unite in the consideration of the fundamental problems of the school as a builder of citizenship, for better or worse. Churches, business, professional, civic, patriotic, trades-union and other organizations join in. Educators have pronounced the "Week" a significant contribution toward the future usefulness of the school system.

In 1922 the Commission inaugurated the American Legion Patriotic Essay Contest, in which every schoolchild in the United States is eligible to participate. Awards are made for the best essay in every county, in every State, and, by process of elimination, the three best in the United States. Each year a new subject will be announced by the Commission. Although the contest was inaugurated late in 1922, 50,000 children participated, which meant 50,000 young minds busy with an expression of the ideals of citizenship. An enterprise such as this will mean something to this country within ten years.

The Commission has fought the spread of radicalism and doctrines destructive to our institutions of government. It has combatted foreign propaganda. It has, through Mr. Owsley in particular, done much to harmonize the aims of organized labor and those of the Legion, which has made for the promotion of industrial accord and national prosperity.

Garland W. Powell of Maryland succeeded Mr. Owsley as Director of the Commission, and under him the work goes on, while Owsley has turned to larger tasks.

"Much as has been done," declared Commander Owsley in an early definition of his policies, "to plant the standard of the American Legion in the forefront of American institutions of service, there remains a legacy of tasks undone which invites the effort of every Legionnaire."

"The fight for the disabled will go on," said he. "The welfare of our wounded and disabled always has been and shall be the cardinal concern of the Legion."

The fight for adjusted compensation will go on. "This is a republic," asserted the Commander, "whose founding fathers proclaimed that the will of the people shall be law. When this fails to be law, just that far is representative government overthrown. We are confronted by a situation in which a measure has been favorably acted upon by the people on every occasion they have been permitted to express their judgment. Yet it is not a law. We know the will of the people eventually will prevail. We shall continue our effort until it does."

Profiteers must be exposed and punished. "The Nation has been stirred by the disclosures the Legion has made," affirmed the Commander. "It has been shocked by the laxity of the effort at the detection and punishment of those who are guilty. The American Legion will continue these disclosures to the end that an aroused public opinion may force the action that is necessary to allow the courts of justice to deal with those against whom such grave accusations have been made."

The Legion will continue its work for the unemployed and the needy.

"These," concluded the Commander, "are only a few of the tasks that await our hands. Taking courage from the past and inspiration from the future, we go forward."

Commander Owsley has long been recognized as the Legion's foremost orator. On Armistice Day after his election as Commander, he dedicated the new capitol of Ne-

braska at Lincoln. In these words he envisioned the Legion's creed and its future:

The ending of war is a great thing, but the beginning of peace is a greater thing; for with the coming of a just peace the march of mankind is taken up again, mankind going forward step by step to better things. Not as the day of the making of an end, but as the day of the beginning of a great endeavor, let us observe this anniversary.

We of the American Legion regard this Armistice Day as the true birthday of our organization. Our ideals are the ideals of America, our program is open to the searchlight, our policies clear-cut and definite. The things we stand for we have written into our constitution and set before the Nation: those things are good comradeship and better citizenship. We have sanctified our comradeship through honor to our dead, and through the last full measure of devotion to our disabled.

The American Legion is active constantly in the labor of love that has as its object the moulding of the minds of our aliens to the true conception of citizenship, reverence for the flag and respect for America's institutions. We started early to clear this building site of its debris of disloyalty, ignorance, greed and indifference. And as the site is cleared there begins the building of a most wonderful mansion, wherein will dwell a united people, thinking America, loving America, working for America and America's good.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

THE AMERICAN LEGION is a corporation chartered by the Federal Government. This is exceptional. Of the tens of thousands of corporations in the United States very few possess other than state charters of incorporation. For practical purposes, however, there is not a great deal of difference between a federal and a state incorporation. Therefore, the physical aspect of the Legion organization may be more readily understood, perhaps, by rough comparison with the principal features of the great corporations of business with which we are all in a general way familiar.

The stockholders are the members, and every year there is the annual stockholders' meeting which is called a National Convention. Not every stockholder can be present, and the same is true of other corporations. There is a railroad company which has above 10,000 stockholders. At the annual meetings all but a few of them are represented by proxies. The same practice obtains in the Legion. Each delegate to the National Conventions holds the proxies of a greater number of members who are stockholders in the Legion corporation.

The corporation has a president or chief executive who is called the National Commander. There is a board of directors which is called the National Executive Committee. The National Commander is chairman of this board, which is the supreme executive and legislative power of the organization between National Conventions.

The corporation has its home office, or National Headquarters, at Indianapolis. Its principal branch offices are in every State and numerous foreign countries. These are called the Department Headquarters. Each department controls the administration of the affairs of the corporation within its territorial jurisdiction. The home office deals di-

rectly with the department branch offices. The department office deals with the post, which is the smallest unit of the corporation. Of posts there are in excess of 11,100, situated in every city and town in the United States and in twenty-three foreign countries and overseas possessions of the United States.

At the head of the administrative forces at the Legion corporation's home office is the oldest in service of all Legion officials—Lemuel Bolles, who has been National Adjutant since the office was created by the Minneapolis convention in 1919. Bolles's Legion service goes farther back than that, though. He was on the ground in the dawn-days in France, and in company with a sergeant-major he represented the First Army Corps at the Paris caucus. He took a prominent part there in the drafting of the document which is the forerunner of the Legion's present constitution. Bolles was a member of the first Executive Committee, and when he returned to the States in the summer of 1919 he obtained a month's leave and spent it at the Legion's temporary headquarters in West Forty-fourth street, New York, in charge of the arrangements for the convention at Minneapolis.

Bolles thought it would be pleasant to attend the convention at Minneapolis. He was born in Minneapolis. When the convention was over he would return to Seattle and take up life where he left it in 1917. He would practice law and drill with the national guard. Mr. Bolles still has those things to look forward to, for as it has turned out he has not been able to get back to Seattle, except on a visit.

It was Mr. D'Olier who, in the first instance, interfered with these plans. He appointed Bolles National Adjutant, or in other words, general manager of the Legion corporation.

Bolles is a pioneer. I have said he was born in Minneapolis. He was born in 1885 on Nicollet Island in the Mississippi river, on which a part of Minneapolis now stands. He has been, among other things, a cowboy, a newspaper reporter, a rancher, a bank cashier and a lawyer. Though

coming from old New England stock (a Lemuel Bolles marched with the Minute Men at Lexington and Concord), Bolles spent all of his early years in the West, moving from one frontier to another until he could go no farther. He became familiar with new and hard conditions of life, and this familiarity was as good an asset as a National Adjutant of the American Legion could well possess in the year 1919.

It was apparent that pioneering days were not over for Mr. Bolles. Commander D'Olier asked how long it would take to move National Headquarters from its temporary seat at New York to Indianapolis, and was prepared to hear an estimate of a month. Bolles said he could do it in one trip, which by a good train requires nineteen hours. Bolles went at it as if he were moving Company E of the Second Washington Infantry which he commanded for several years. Records and papers were packed and sent on by express. The personnel problem was simple, so far as moving was concerned. Except for a few heads of divisions the Headquarters workers lived in New York or elsewhere in the East and were unable to exhibit any enthusiasm for the advice of Horace Greeley. So Adjutant Bolles arrived in Indianapolis minus about nineteen-twentieths of his staff.

The Chamber of Commerce of Indianapolis provided quarters in the Meridian Life Building. They turned over a whole floor, which was sufficient to provide about four private offices for each member of the Headquarters staff on the morning the Legion opened for business in Indianapolis. The indefatigable Bolles took care of this, however, and by Christmas of 1919 the blank files had been filled up and his organization was in complete operation. It had never ceased to operate, in fact, but six weeks after the Minneapolis convention had chosen Indianapolis as the seat of permanent Headquarters those Headquarters were established there in every detail. They have since expanded four- or five-fold. When two floors in the Meridian Life Building found Headquarters cramped for room in the spring

ROBERT A. ADAMS
National Judge Advocate

EBEN PUTNAM
National Historian

RUSSELL G. CREVISTON
Assistant National Adjutant

of 1922, the offices were moved to the Chalfant Building, which it occupies exclusively. The Chalfant is in the area of two square blocks of business district property in which all buildings have been condemned to make room for the $3,000,000 memorial home which will be built for the Legion. It will be the gift of the city of Indianapolis, of Marion county and the State of Indiana.

Bolles has been National Adjutant in the service of five Commanders. He has built the Headquarters organization from nothing to its present proportions, and the results of his faculty for administration are reflected in every department headquarters and through them among 11,000-odd local posts. Administration is a peculiar variety of endeavor. In the ideal organization its presence is imperceptible, but its impairment would mean difficulty and its absence disaster; the organization would soon cease to exist. The processes of administration are not energy in themselves; they are the conductors of energy, as wires are the conductors of an electric current. All the electricity in the world would be of no use without wires to transmit it and agencies to transform it into the uses of service. All the wires and agencies on earth would be of no benefit without a current to course through them and render them useful to the purposes of human kind.

You have sat in a darkened theater and seen it break on the instant into a refulgence which irradiated from a thousand incandescent lamps fixed in every nook and recess of the vast auditorium. The processes of this phenomenon are so simple that we have ceased to regard them as phenomenal at all. An electrician back-stage clicks a switch, and darkness is dispelled. The vital factors are not apparent—the energy of the electric current and the unseen wires that carry and distribute it to the remotest parts of the theater.

So with the Legion. Its energy, its force, is the conviction a million men and women feel for the principles the Legion espouses. This energy is able to assert itself by

means of the unseen wires of administration which proceed from National Headquarters to the smallest and farthest removed of the 11,134 local posts.

The Legion's administrative strands enmesh the United States and encircle the globe. They touch not only the Legion's million members, but every other person in the United States. They have served, in three years, to make the Legion one of the best known of American institutions. The word "Legion" has become an accepted synonym for World War veteran; the supreme court of Ohio has so ruled. The day-by-day superintendence of the operation of this vast mechanism, which has been created step by step under his supervision, has afforded Mr. Bolles a knowledge of the detail of ex-service problems and activities which places him in a class with any sufficiently complete encyclopedia. Bolles receives, reads and answers from two to three hundred letters a day. He replies even to such letters as this one, which was inspired by a statement the National Adjutant made during the MacNider campaign to relieve unemployment, and which read substantially:

> Lemuel Bolles—a good old Bible name. You speak of "floaters." You say they should be ignored in the Legion's effort to find employment for those who deserve it. You say they should go back home if they have one. Yet, what do you know of floaters? It is my shrewd guess you live in the house in which you were born and have never been a hundred miles from home in your life.

Mr. Bolles thanked his correspondent for his interest and informed him that he, Bolles, had been in forty of the forty-eight States and in five foreign countries, and that he had moved about so much in his youth that he had never gone to school for more than six months in one place. He dictated this answer as he scanned the next piece of morning's mail—a letter, as likely as not, presenting for solution an abstruse problem of policy confronting the organization in Venezuela. Bolles could wake out of a sound sleep and tell you, off-hand, the status of American World War veterans in any part of the world you could name, and give a concise

statement of the outstanding public issues of that locality in which these veterans had or might develop an interest.

As a boy Bolles's ambition was to go to West Point. Twice he had an opportunity to receive an appointment to the Military Academy. The first time was when his family was living in Yakima, Washington, and Lemuel was riding herd in Montana. There had been financial reverses in the family and the young cow-puncher's help was needed at home. He stayed.

A few years later a Congressman tendered a second proffer of the coveted appointment, and nothing stood in the path of its acceptance—that is, nothing until young Bolles discovered that he was a few weeks over the age limit. To correct the calendar a little either way for the purpose of meeting the requirements for entrance into the military service has never been regarded in this country as a particularly reprehensible form of deception. And here, by the simple expedient of moving up a birthday a couple of months, was to be realized the dream of years—an appointment to West Point. Bolles tussled with the problem a long time, and then made a frank confession to the Congressman.

"Young man," said he, "that is the sort of question every man must answer for himself. Come back in a week and if you still want to go I will send you."

Bolles was back in three days. He declined the appointment.

"It was the most difficult act of my life," he once observed.

The military service has always been his principal hobby. In seven years he rose from private to captain in a national guard company. In 1917 he was a major and the Assistant Adjutant-General of Washington. He was discharged a lieutenant-colonel. He is now a colonel commanding a reserve regiment. He is a Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur and an active Chief, by adoption, of the Black-

feet Indians. His tribal name is O-ma-ki-kia-yo, which means Big Bear.

"The chief," by the way, and "the boss" are the names the Headquarters staff have for the Adjutant. They work hard at Indianapolis and the boss sets the pace—that is, in so far as the Headquarters crew is concerned. The National Commander is really the pacemaker. It is a stiff pace, too. A Commander is in for one year. It is likely to be one of the eventful years of his life. Bolles has been there under five Commanders, and some of his division heads have served under three or four. Every year and every day has been an eventful one for them. As routine becomes established and improved, however, the pressure grows by degrees less severe. This has been a necessity. The stress of the early days was something no group of men and women could have endured indefinitely, and the gait is still a swift one. No administrative organization could have kept abreast of the meteoric growth of the Legion. The process of settlement and adjustment is not completed, but the channels of routine are gradually absorbing matters which in the earlier days would have precipitated situations of emergency.

Bolles's personal aide is Russell G. Creviston, the Assistant National Adjutant, who has held that post since the fall of 1920. Creviston joined National Headquarters as Director of Organization after the Minneapolis convention. The business of Headquarters is categoried for transaction by the following divisions: Administration, Americanism, Emblem, Films, Finance, Publicity and Service. With these may be included for the purposes of this review the duties of the National Treasurer, the National Judge Advocate and the National Historian.

The Administration Division is headed by Edward H. Prell. It has absorbed the Organization Division. It supervises the internal development of the Legion by the creation of new departments and posts, attends to the business de-

FIDAC OFFICERS FOR 1923

Front row, Gioja, Italy, questor; Janne, Belgium, vice-president; Bertrand, France, president; Jackson, United States, vice-president; Yourichitch-Stourm, Serbia, vice-president; back row, d'Avigneau, France, general secretary; Holecek, Czecho-Slovakia, assessor; Heraud, France, assessor; Barlow, Great Britain, treasurer

tails of the functioning Headquarters and keeps the Legion's records. Its mission is to co-ordinate not only the activities and administrative operations of the various elements of National Headquarters but also the relations between National Headquarters and the headquarters of departments and posts.

The Americanism Commission was discussed in the preceding chapter.

The Emblem Division procures the manufacture and sale of membership buttons, department and post standards—in fact, all Legion regalia and property which bear the official emblem of the organization. The Legion emblem is copyrighted and the Legion, through the Emblem Division, exercises an exclusive right to its reproduction in any form. This has protected the Legion against the unapproved exploitation of its emblem, it has enabled units and members of the organization to obtain emblems at low cost, and has proven a substantial source of revenue to the organization. The director of the Emblem Division is O. E. Marquette, who has built up a business organization of extensive proportions. The annual turn-over is about $700,000. The yearly net profits to National Headquarters are about $60,000.

The Finance Division receives and disburses all funds. Its operation is superintended by the National Treasurer who, since 1919, has been Robert H. Tyndall, an Indianapolis banker. The early financing of the Legion was reviewed in a previous chapter. It has been no simple task. When Mr. Tyndall assumed office the national organization owed $257,000, its credit was low and there was immediate need for the creation of a fund of $100,000 to assure the continuance of the *American Legion Weekly*. Debts have been paid off and the Treasurer's report to the New Orleans convention showed assets of a net worth of $687,000 against liabilities of $151,000. The New Orleans convention adopted a resolution expressing appreciation of the services of Mr. Tyndall, who by his untiring efforts and the exercise of his

personal credit has contributed so greatly to the present healthy financial condition of the Legion.

The American Legion comprises numerically a small portion of the American public, yet the Legion has come to exert a considerable influence in public affairs. This is because the Legion enjoys the support of public opinion, without which it can accomplish little, no matter how large or how well disciplined may be its membership. The province of the Publicity Division is to acquaint the public with what the Legion does and why, and with what it aims to do. The Publicity Division, which played an important rôle in launching the Legion, was discontinued during the days of financial stress that followed the Minneapolis convention. It was revived by George d'Utassy, who saved the *American Legion Weekly* from an early grave. The American Legion News Service was started in June of 1920 as a department of the *Weekly*. Later it was taken over by Headquarters and in 1921 the Publicity Division was reconstituted and gradually expanded to include the News Service, National Speakers Bureau, American Legion Film Service and the editorial department of the *Weekly*. In December of 1922 the Film Service was raised to the estate of a separate division and the Speakers Bureau was consolidated with the Americanism Commission. The writer was Director of Publicity until May of 1922 when he was succeeded by Humphrey Sullivan, who resigned the following December.

The News Service is a news gathering and distributing agency which handles news and pictures of Legion happenings that are matters of news by a newspaper man's definition of that term. It regularly places news of the Legion in 10,000 publications. The Director is Eugene J. Cadou.

The Film Service is headed by Earle A. Meyer. It furnishes film programs for post entertainments and has assisted in the production and distribution of several films which portray ideals for which the Legion stands. The

service was started in the fall of 1921 without funds and now earns about $1,000 a month.

The Service Division represents the Legion's service to the veteran. With a subsidiary office in Washington, its function is the handling of all legitimate claims ex-service men may have against the Government. These are of almost endless variety. Since its inception the Service Division has been instrumental in adjudicating in favor of veterans' claims which total in excess of $10,000,000. The Division assists and co-ordinates the activities of the service offices of department and post headquarters, and handles cases forwarded on appeal from these sources. Claude J. Harris is head of the Service Division.

Robert A. Adams, a member of the Indianapolis bar, is the National Judge Advocate or legal adviser. He holds office by appointment by the National Executive Committee. The Judge Advocate rules on questions of interpretation of the constitution, eligibility, duties of officers, matters of parliamentary law, inquiries with reference to taxation, etc., as applying to Legion property. Most of the duties of his office concern matters which have been referred to National Headquarters from subsidiary jurisdictions. The question of eligibility is always important to those concerned. Rulings about which most interest has centered have been those excluding from membership in the Legion members of the Red Cross and other welfare organizations and candidates of the first and second reserve officers training camps who saw no other service. The Red Cross has made especial efforts to obtain recognition. The Legion's business undertakings, with particular reference to the protection of the emblem from commercial exploitation, require a considerable amount of work of a legal character.

The National Historian holds office by virtue of the same process as the National Treasurer and National Judge Advocate. The incumbent is Eben Putnam of Wellesley Farms, Massachusetts, who has served since the office was

created by the Cleveland convention. His archives contain the records from which a great history of the Legion some day can be written. Mr. Putnam has gathered and continues to gather not only such material as illuminates the development of the Legion along national lines, but along State and local lines as well. The latter is most important. Except during times of national crisis the Legion's main strength will be exerted in the community through the local post. Mr. Putnam has contended for proper provision for the housing of the Government's records of the war, and has done much to stimulate the preservation of records of the war period which will be of value in future years.

The *American Legion Weekly*, though associated with the Publicity Division in order that its policies may synchronize with those of the other elements of that Division, is not technically a part of Headquarters. The *Weekly* is published by an operating company, the Legion Publishing Corporation, of which the National Commander is president, the National Adjutant secretary and the National Treasurer treasurer. The stock is held by the American Legion. The controlling body is a board of directors.

The *Weekly* represents the success of an exceedingly difficult publishing venture. It was started in July of 1919, without funds, without an organization and without a single precedent in American publishing experience to guide it. Its first editor and general manager was George A. White, one of the founders of the Legion. The magazine was an instantaneous success from an editorial standpoint. At Minneapolis it was given much credit for making the Legion possible. As a business venture it was far from unsuccessful, though its deficit at the time of the Minneapolis meeting had mounted to $150,000. It is part of the history of publishing that most magazines fail in their first year. Consequently national advertisers are not easily attracted to a publication that is less than a year old. Publishers give one million

dollars as a very conservative estimate of the amount of capital required to launch a national magazine.

The *Weekly* started without a dollar, and without an organization. Mr. White consented—was drafted in fact—to head it temporarily. Legion finances were shaky immediately after the first convention and the *Weekly* continued to lose $20,000 an issue. A printers' strike in New York had tied up the publishing industry and in order that it might not miss an issue during the critical pre-convention period the magazine moved actually over-night to Washington. This was expensive. On Christmas Day of 1919 White telephoned Mr. D'Olier at Philadelphia that unless $40,000 was forthcoming within twenty-four hours the magazine would be compelled to suspend. It was at the end of its rope.

The Commander went to New York the next day, but he failed to find Santa Claus. The best news he got was a promise of $1,000, which would have lasted a little less than half a day at the rate the *Weekly* was losing money. Publishers said the situation was not alarming, that the *Weekly* was making excellent strides and that its losses represented part of the investment necessary to produce any profitable publication. Mr. D'Olier made advances from his own funds, and obtained other loans to keep the paper afloat until permanent arrangements could be made.

In New York he called a conference of experienced publishers and placed the case before them. The verdict was that with $250,000 more the *Weekly* could be placed on a paying basis. This estimate contemplated no reduction in the high grade of printing, paper and editorial matter, but rather an increased investment in these items. An alternative was to reduce production costs to the lowest possible figure in an effort to stop losses at once. The state of Legion finances made the latter the only course possible. In February Mr. D'Olier directed that the paper suspend publication in Washington and turned its affairs over to George d'Utassy, a magazine publisher of national reputation, and a Legion

member. He volunteered to try to lead the *Weekly* out of the wilderness.

Three weeks later—in March of 1921—publication was resumed "in fatigue clothes" in New York. Mr. d'Utassy was general manager. He drew no salary. C. R. Baines, who had been with the paper since its beginning, became business manager. A. R. Whiton continued as circulation manager. I was the entire editorial department for a few weeks. The discontinuance of the *Home Sector* enabled the *Weekly* to obtain the services of Harold W. Ross who, at the close of the war, was editor of *The Stars and Stripes* in France. Mr. Ross became the editor and John Tracy Winterich, also a former *Stars and Stripes* man, the managing editor.

The debt had grown to $250,000 when the reorganization occurred. Under Mr. d'Utassy expenses were reduced to the very minimum. The appearance of the magazine showed it, but the membership took it in good spirit. The "fatigue clothes" régime was effective and the publication began turning a profit immediately. Gradually the debt was reduced and gradually the make-up of the publication improved. It is now out of debt and in 1922 it returned a profit of about $60,000. The New Orleans convention approved a policy of continued expansion along the lines of a magazine of general public interest, in addition to the province of official organ of the Legion.

Mr. d'Utassy retired as general manager in the fall of 1920. He was given the thanks of the Legion at the Cleveland convention. Without any doubt he saved the *Weekly* from extinction. Mr. Baines was promoted to the general managership. In December, 1921, he resigned to assume charge of the *Army and Navy Journal* and was succeeded by H. D. Cushing, formerly advertising manager. The business manager is Otis S. Powell.

CONCLUSION

A STORY is related of a practical man of affairs who visited Niagara Falls in the company of a friend gifted with a poetic imagination.

The one with the poetic imagination was enthralled by the sight.

"Ah!" he exclaimed, "is not this an inspiring spectacle! This majestic river, this mighty volume of water, coursing and tumbling irresistibly on its way, spurred by the one passion to seek the sea; on and on it rolls its way, until without warning it meets this mighty cliff. Does it halt, does it falter? Nay, my friend, bravely on it plunges o'er the towering precipice and thus we have Nature's first masterpiece in water-color—Niagara Falls!"

"Your argument seems flawless," observed the practical friend, accustomed to viewing matters in the stern light of cause and effect. "But isn't it the natural thing for the water to do?"

Now, one of a practical cast of mind, accustomed to viewing matters in the stern light of cause and effect, might say the same of the American Legion. An organization of the veterans of a war: Wasn't it the natural thing for the veterans to do?

Yes—and no.

There is nothing new or surprising in the fact that American veterans should have formed a society and called it the American Legion or any of the other names suggested at the Paris caucus. The odd thing about the Legion is the part it has played in a rather striking coincidence.

Mr. Wilson best phrased the war's ideals when he said we fought to make the world safe for Democracy. Soldiers and sailors won the war, but they did not make the terms of peace at Versailles. The terms of peace made at Versailles may have been good or bad. Plenty has been said on both sides. There are those who contend that the peace

terms are responsible for the present state of Europe, which is visited by miseries that are difficult for Americans to envisage. Should these conditions endure indefinitely civilization will perish and that part of the world will revert to savagery.

But they will not endure. The real peace was made by those who fought for ideals which have been more clearly expressed by Mr. Wilson than by any other man whose words I have read. The terms of that peace are being carried out. The Central Empires and even Turkey have become republics. The British Empire more than ever before is simply a confederation of self-governing democracies. Italy, under Mussolini, has imposed a dictatorship which sprang from the national aspirations of a group of veterans. The debacle in Russia attests merely that Russia went too far in the direction the whole world was moving when the end of the war unleashed from the bonds of discipline the spirit of New Nationalism which the words of statesmen and the passions of strife had engendered.

In all countries the development of this spirit has been attended by birth pains—in all countries excepting the United States by dislocations and discomforts of great degree.

In the United States the American Legion came into being simultaneously with the unbridling of this spirit. The prime purpose of the Legion had to do with this spirit—with the harnessing of the new force first manifest in the "unrest" of troops left without occupation by the end of the fighting. It was the mission of the Legion to provide orderly channels for the tide of energy so released.

In so doing the Legion has thrice served the Nation:

In the period of demobilization and reassimilation;

In the period which witnessed the zenith of destructive radicalism;

In the period of industrial trial which attended the great economic shifts that restored peace-time standards.

On these occasions, which I think may be called crises, the American Legion served the whole Nation.

The Legion organization was first constructed with a view to national service. During the initial year and a half of its existence it passed through all of the situations just named. Since that time the structure of the organization has undergone distinct changes. It has kept pace with the times.

At this writing Europe is in a ferment but in the United States no national event of crisis stature impends. The skies are tranquil. The Legion has its national work to do and is doing it, but as an organization it has become primarily a community force as distinguished from a national force—a community force exerted through the agency of its 11,134 posts. This history does not reveal much of that side of the Legion, because its province is the Legion's national story. Quite as important a story could be told of the Legion as a community institution.

Though no national crisis impends now, some day one will come. When the next crisis will come and what it will be like is something no one knows. But whatever its character, if it should threaten the security of the institutions we believe best express the genius of the American race in ideals of government; if it should imperil the security, the peace, the honor or the integrity of our Nation, the American Legion—if it keeps faith with its past—will be ready to serve again.

I think it was this a certain speaker had in mind when he said that the Legion is "the best insurance policy a country ever had."

THE END

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